GI revolt brews

PEOPLE'S WORLD

Price Fifteen Cents

VOL. 33, NO. 20

SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1970

San Francisco ** Final

Role of labor growing in protests against war

By CARL BLOICE

SAN FRANCISCO—Top labor leaders in this city arranged for a strongly worded ad in the daily press, city councils in Berkeley and Chico passed resolutions, students on campuses throughout the state remained mobilized and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets at shopping centers and plant gates and a new group of rank-and-filers was formed calling themselves simply Workers Against the War.

This is the week that was one of the greatest and most massive mobilization of public sentiment since the United States military became involved in Indochina nearly a decade ago.

Of all that has happened on the West Coast since the invasion of Cambodia April 30, nothing has been so dramatic and unprecedented as the actions taken inside the organized labor movement.

On Monday May 18 a full page advertisement will appear in the morning San Francisco Chronicle in opposition to the war in Cambodia and demanding an end to the war in Indochina. It will be signed by major trade unionists in the area, including officials of unions such as teamsters, machinists, public workers, longshoremen, warehousemen and others. The statement states the labor officials' skepticism concerning the President's pledge to be out of Cambodia by June.

The unionists' advertisement is said to call for an immediate cease fire and withdrawal from Cambodia and Vietnam. It ends with the words: "Most important, this nation of ours must turn from war to peace. Any other course leads to disaster."

Shortly after the Central Labor Council of Alameda county went on record in opposition to the invasion, repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, cutting of funds for the Indochinese war and censure of the President, nearly identical action was taken by the labor council of Contra Costa County. The Santa Clara council will vote on it Monday.

At a rally in San Francisco, May 8, Art Carter, secretary-treasurer of the Contra Costa body, but not representing it at the meeting, called the contention of AFL-CIO head George Meany's that the White House has the support of the nation's 15 million union members "bullshit."

S.F. HEARING

In San Francisco, a number of officials and local members of various unions appeared at Monday meeting of the Board of Supervisors in support of an anti-war resolution put before that body. Speaking before a hearing of the Supervisor's Committee on State and Nation-

(Continued on page 2)

Armed Forces Day mostly cancelled

By STEPHANIE ALLAN

SAN FRANCISCO — The repercussions of the invasion of Cambodia are rocking the military establishment. In addition to the 16 GIs who publicly refused to go into the Parrot's Beak, the rumblings on bases and in boot camps are becoming ominous for the Pentagon.

The angry resistance to the Indochinese war among those forced to fight it will undoubtedly break out into the open this weekend as the military and the GI movement celebrate Armed Forces day, May 16.

Demonstrations are scheduled at Camp Pendleton, the Marine boot camp just south of President Nixon's San Clemente hideout; Fort Ord, the Army training base in Monterey, Cal., and at Ft. Lewis, the Army's depot in Washington.

The military commands at various California bases are reacting to the planned demonstrations with riot control duty and special precautions.

At Ft. Ord many GIs were given riot control training three weeks ago. Extra troops were being flown in from the Hunter-Liggett base about 20 miles from Ord.

Vietnam returnees are stationed at Hunter-Liggett and demonstration organizers say GIs report eight "hueys" (large troop-carrying helicopters) landed at Ord a few days ago.

The Nam returnees at Hunter-Liggett are trained on equipment the army is testing and speculation is that they have new riot control materials to try out.

GIs at Ord and Pendleton were told it would be a regular work day on what has been a traditional holiday for the military since President Harry Truman proclaimed it in 1950.

The military's fear of GI anti-war sentiments was revealed last week at the airport here

(Continued on back page)

Nixon, Ky and Cambodia

By BOB KAUFMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The shape of United States policy in Cambodia was becoming a bit clearer this week. While Vietnam remains Americanized, Cambodia will be Vietnamized.

The Lon Nol regime in Cambodia will be the puppet of U.S. puppet, a neo-colony once removed.

This was spelled out by none other than Marshal Nguyen Kao Ky, Vice President of the Saigon regime, who spoke to re-

(Continued on Page 5)

Teamster troubles

PW Labor Dept.

SAN FRANCISCO — The Teamsters Union has troubles everywhere and no where else are they bigger than in California.

No matter what happens to the recently negotiated national contract, the conflicts which have emerged here will rock the union and the industry for some time to come.

This all became clear this week as, under the heavy, heavy pressure from the rank and file, the locals moved to shut down all trucking in California.

Los Angeles Teamsters where 10,000 of them have been out for two months, freight is run into the city under armed police escort. The amount delivered is reported down two-thirds.

In northern California, Local 70 and Local 85 made the move official May 13 after two days, of wildcatting which shut down most major terminals.

Local 85 decided to pull its men out and Local 70 has voted to withdraw from the national negotiations for a new contract.

The depth of the rage over the supplementals and the pressure put on local Teamster leadership was felt directly by Tim Richardson, head of Local 85.

Richardson was physically surrounded May 11 by angry

(Continued on back page)

One moment

THERE ARE FEW moments in the life of our paper and of the Left on the Pacific Coast like those we are seeing now. There is a man in the White House who seems hell-bent on pursuing policies that, if allowed to continue, will lead to a long night of oppression at home and pose a grave threat to the peace of the world far beyond the wounds of Indochina.

And there are men and women waiting in the wings anxious to take advantage of the present crisis. Their mouths water like a pack of Greek Generals over the possibility of sweeping aside all the rights and guarantees of the Constitution, of further oppressing minorities and further exploiting working people and waging war undeterred.

ON THE OTHER HAND, there are people in motion, millions of them. The country is being shaken vigorously by a massive protest movement that shows no sign of abating until

(Continued on back page)

Campus strikes forge unity in a whirlwind

By BOB KAUFMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Stenciled on shirts, painted on strips of computer paper, and taped to the walls of buildings on campuses around the country, the nationwide student strike has a new symbol of unity.

Enclosed in the circle of an Asian Ying-Yang, are two hands, the V sign of peace, and the clenched fist of militance, and over them both, the word "Unite."

The coming together of the radical movement and the great majority of anti-war students has unleashed the most unprecedented explosion of creative energy in the history of the student movement.

Student union buildings on hundreds of campuses are plastered with signs, posters, work schedules and the thousand other symbols of whirlwind activity.

Their halls are jammed with thousands of young people meeting, planning and dispatching more thousands on projects whose common purpose is to carry the momentum of student outrage at the war and its consequences at home out into the community.

The slogan for the universities and colleges is no longer, "On strike, shut it down," but, "On strike, open it up." Open that is as centers for action against the war.

In the words of the strike resolution passed by a mass meeting of 10,000 students at the University of California at Berkeley:

RECONSTITUTE

"This campus is on strike to reconstitute the university as a center for organizing against the war in Southeast Asia and against oppression at home.

"We are curtailing normal activities for the remainder of this war. We will open the campus to mobilize our resources, our knowledge and skills, our manpower and facilities.

"We will organize not only against the war and racism, but against the structures in society that facilitate them.

"We will organize to end our university's complicity with that war and with racial and economic oppression."

Not every campus was prepared to adopt such sweeping goals, but on most campuses the war crisis has become first of all a crisis for the colleges themselves.

Debates rage over just what "reconstitution" and "no business as usual" means.

In the private colleges, under less direct pressure from politicians, administrations have gone further to adapt, if temporarily, to the overwhelming demand for no business as usual.

Even in the public colleges in California, despite the Reagan administration, administrators have been forced to bend to the overwhelming tide.

At San Jose State College, for instance, the faculty voted to uphold a faculty committee ruling freeing students from the burden of course work and grades for the remainder of the semester.

They are a conservative bunch, on a campus whose radical movement has long been ineffective.

Yet when acting president Hobart Burns told them he would have to resign if they did it, they upheld their committee's action.

As one professor said, "They liked Burns, they fear who would replace him, but their concern over the war overcame their fear and timidity."

The rush of masses of previously inactive students to a movement for a long while dominated by radicals has brought with it both great benefits and problems.

Despite a distaste for rhetoric, the message of the imperialist nature of the war, and its relation to racism, repression and exploitation at home clearly got across to masses of students who rejected radical leadership.

The broadly based National Student Congress that met at San Jose State College, May 10, 11 and 12, a meeting attacked by some radicals as "too liberal," called for the nationwide movement to work against war, racism, chauvinism and poverty."

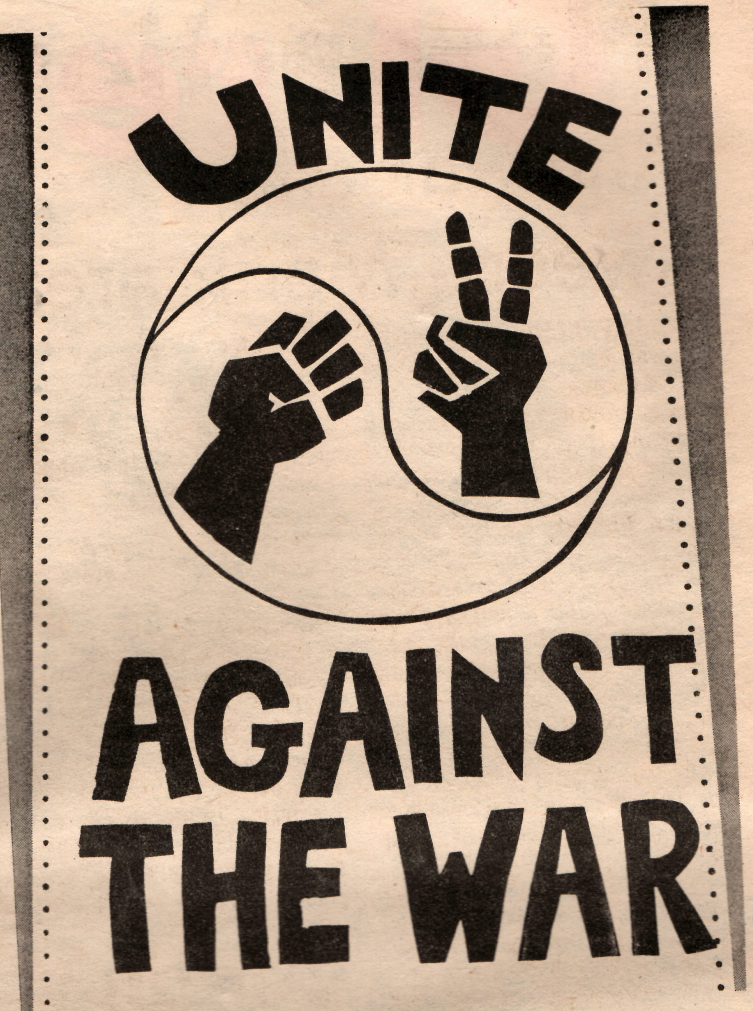
It pledged its "solidarity with the workers fighting against unemployment, anti-strike legislation and the reallocation of health and education funds for the war."

On the other hand there is a strong current of suspicion of radical leadership. This takes the form of an insistance on de-centralized, unstructured activity. There is also a very strong feeling against violence and confrontation.

In large part, what the moderate students reject are just the style and tactics that was driving the left on the campuses into isolation. Many radical activists recognize this and fight for unity.

But it also means that pressure to channel all the energy exclusively into electoral politics, and to limit action on the issues of racism to words on paper is more effective than it should be.

But these debates and problems are those of a new community, forged in the flames of a crisis transforming and radicalizing the lives and minds of literally millions of young people.



NEW strike symbol. See story at left.

Strike ended

LOS ANGELES — The longest teachers' strike in this city's history ended Wednesday when the striking teachers voted 6,700 to 2,700 to go back to classes starting Thursday, May 14.

They also voted four to three to not accept the school board's 5% pay raise offer but to put the money that would have gone into salary increases into a school remedial program instead.

Balloting on the contract is yet to take place, as this will involve all 21,000 members of United Teachers of Los Angeles, only half of whom have been involved in the strike.

City and state labor bodies take stands against the war

(Continued from Page One)

al Affairs, Ted Walker, rank-and-file union member, said, "The government continues to break every law in the international book."

The black municipal bus driver accused the government of taking away the rights of people at home, black and white, and asked, "Will Judge Hoffman try any of these conspirators?" Walker told the committee, "The whole world is looking at us and they are saying: get out and get out now."

Bert Donlin, a member of longshore Local 10 of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and a member of Latin Americans for Peace and Justice, told the supervisors the money being spent on the war should be used "for the welfare and future of our youth." He called for action to stop the war in Southeast Asia now.

"There shall be no business as usual for members of our local until the end of the semester," the supervisors were told by Leah Schuman, president of Local 1928 of the American Federation of Teachers (associates, aides and assistants.)

The hearings will continue at the regular supervisors' meeting on Monday at 2:30.

The move to get local city government to go on record against the invasion and the war spread quickly. In most places such action is unprecedented and each resolution introduced drew some opposition from those who contended that foreign policy is not a municipal matter. But feelings appeared to run as strong in some of these bodies, as in the labor councils and on the campuses.

BERKELEY RESOLUTION

The matter came up in the Berkeley City Council Tuesday night. At the request of the Peace Brigade, a non-violent so-called "moderate" group of young people, council member Ron Dellums took the initiative in bringing Indochina into the council. The resolution was finally approved by the body.

It stated its opposition to the Cambodian invasion, called for early withdrawal from Southeast Asia and urged the federal government to use the nation's resources and "exert its Constitutional powers towards solving urban problems."

One line of the Berkeley resolution read: "Let it be resolved that no Berkeley resident shall be required to fight in the undeclared war in Southeast Asia."

A letter was addressed this week to President Richard Nixon, Vice President Spiro Agnew and Senators and Congressmen representing the area, signed by Gordon H. Casamajor, mayor of Chico in Butte county, California. The letter was sent at the unanimous request of the city council and expressed the city fathers' "concern and opposition" to the extension of the war into Cambodia. The resolution asked the President to "reduce our involvement as materially and rapidly as possible."

LABOR PROTEST

Important anti-war labor actions occurred in other parts of the country and on a national scale.

In New York, David Livingston, president of District 65, Wholesale, Retail and Department Store Workers Union, told a rally last Saturday that the group of construction workers who attacked a peace demonstration there May 8 were "stormtroopers."

"The hoodlums of yesterday are doing George Meany's work, and we ought to call him for the fink he is," said Livingston.

In Washington, Gilbert Padilla, vice president of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, pledged his organization's support for the effort to end the Indochinese war.

Padilla's statement came simultaneously with announcements by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Welfare Rights Organizations that they too were stepping up anti-war activity. George A. Wiley, Welfare Rights executive secretary, urged black organizations and welfare groups to join students in "disrupting business-as-usual until this war is ended."

In Honolulu, the Hawaii state senate adopted a resolution calling for the end of U.S. combat operations in Cambodia. The Hawaiian state said that rather than shortening the war in Vietnam the invasion will only increase the death and suffering in Indochina.

Notice

Sam Kushner, chief of the People's World Los Angeles bureau, is recovering successfully from an operation. His byline and informative coverage of important stories from that area will resume shortly. Alan Zak is currently pinch-hitting.

PW drive standings

Standings in the People's World 1970 Fund Drive as of May 12, 1970:

Area	Quota	Cash	Subs	Total	%
Los Angeles	$36,500	$20,346.50	$ 756.00	$21,102.50	57.8
San Francisco	8,500	2,916.31	104.00	3,020.31	35.5
Washington	8,000	2,192.43	438.00	2,540.43	31.7
Alameda	6,000	1,348.61	133.00	1,481.61	24.7
*Santa Barbara	150	210.00	4.00	214.00	142.6
*Riverside	1,900	1,912.00	21.00	1,933.00	101.7
Butte	150	95.00	12.00	107.00	71.3
Tulare	100	70.00		70.00	70
San Mateo	150	88.00	7.00	95.00	63.3
Contra Costa	550	342.52		342.52	62.6
Fresno	350	198.00		198.00	56.5
Nevada State	100	50.00	4.00	54.00	54
Marin	1,000	448.25	25.00	473.25	47.2
San Bernardino	500	225.00		225.00	45
Santa Clara	2,500	958.00	73.00	1,031.00	41.3
Santa Cruz	100	40.00		40.00	40
Escondido	300	110.00		110.00	36.6
Nevada Co.	100	30.00	4.00	34.00	34
San Diego	700	216.00	7.00	223.00	31.8
Idaho	200	40.00	7.00	47.00	23.5
Orange	275	50.00	14.00	64.00	23.2
Oregon	1,000	167.00	18.00	185.00	18.5
Stanislaus	100	10.00	7.00	17.00	17
Ventura	200	23.00		23.00	11.5
Sacramento	100	10.00		10.00	10
Sonoma	600	30.00	14.00	44.00	7.3
Arizona	300	5.00		5.00	1.6
*Misc. No. Co.		506.68	4.00	510.68	
Miscellaneous		138.40	121.60	260.00	
Totals	$70,325	$32,769.70	$1,690.60	$34,460.30	49

*—Over the top.

New action in the North Bay

Anti-war effort sweeps Marin area

MILL VALLEY — A massive anti-war campaign is sweeping Marin County. With a few days notice, almost 2,000 Mill Valley residents (pop. 12,000) marched against the Cambodian invasion Saturday, May 9.

Alan Barnett, teacher at San Jose State, was the organizing sparkplug. Several clergymen attended. Orville Schell, a young journalist who has made four trips to Vietnam, related the horrors of the war on the Indo-Chinese people. "Now Cambodia," he said, "is My Lai."

Students from College of Marin and Sonoma State College reported on actions at their schools.

Stephen Dreyer said the College of Marin in Kentfield has organized a peace coalition based at the Catholic Newman Center on the campus, and is sending hundreds of door-to-door workers into the surrounding communities.

They have two objectives:

- Support for the McGovern-Cranston-Hatfield bill to get out of Southeast Asia, and withholding of appropriations for the war.
- Support for the Vasconcellos and Greene bills in the state legislature, similar to the Massachusetts law preventing the drafting of young men for undeclared wars, such as in Indo-China.

Non-student leaders in the Marin College Peace Coalition include Phil Drath, former peace candidate in the Sixth Con. Dist. and Thomas Storer, former county supervisor.

It was at Storer's initiative that the Marin County Board of Supervisors recently passed a watered down resolution calling on Nixon to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam and Cambodia "at the earliest practicable opportunity."

Storer had resigned as a candidate for Municipal Judge in order to protest the Cambodia invasion.

Actions were planned at Mt. Tamalpais and San Rafael high schools.

The Saturday rally ended with a demand for a town council meeting to support the McGovern-Cranston-Hatfield bill in the U.S. Senate and of the Vasconcellos and Greene bills in the state assembly.

A Mill Valley Peace Center was established at the "Drop-In House," 550 Miller avenue, phone: 388-9935.

PHIL DRATH
Coalition leader.

Congressman William Mailliard of the Sixth C.D., which includes Marin and the northwest part of San Francisco, has endorsed Nixon's new aggression.

The two Democratic candidates for that ofice, Zaide Kirtley and Russ Miller, have come out strongly in opposition.

Chicano anti-war moratorium set

SAN FRANCISCO — The first Chicano Moratorium in Northern California will be held Saturday, May 30, at the Mission Dolores Park at 18th and Dolores sts., in San Francisco.

The activities of the day will include a parade through the Mission District and a rally in the park to honor "Spanish-surnamed" war dead and to protest the war in Indochina.

So far, speakers at the rally will be Abe Tapia, national president of the Mexican-American Political Association, and Froben Lozada, chairman of the Chicano Studies Dept. at Merritt College.

Benny Muñoz, organizer for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and co-chairman with Lozada for the Moratorium, said they expect 15,000 to 20,000 people to participate.

This demonstration will come in the footsteps of marches in Los Angeles where 4,000 people participated in February and in Fresno where 4,600 participated in April.

The moratorium here is also seen as a move to prepare for a national Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles on August 29.

Muñoz said Chicanos are especially concerned with the war because nearly 20% of all deaths in Vietnam are "Spanish-surnamed" when they only constitute 10% of the population of the U.S.

For more information contact 282-8160. Donations are to be sent to 992 Valencia st. in San Francisco.

Sonoma sheriff: a radical campaign

By JUDY BASTON

SANTA ROSA — Last October a young black man named John Alfred Lee was killed by a white man named Earl Davis in this city some 50 miles north of San Francisco.

The Sonoma county Sheriff's Department wouldn't even book Davis for the killing. For two days they wouldn't even answer questions about it. But they did threaten with prison the frightened 16 year old friend in whose arms the 19 year old Lee had died.

Community pressure — spurred by the Black Student Union — was dramatized on October 15 when 300 peace demonstrators went to the funeral home where Lee was being buried to protest the killing.

The pressure forced District Attorney Kiernan Hyland to call the grand jury into session where it found Davis guilty of voluntary manslaughter. Additional pressure forced another hearing — on the conduct of the sheriff's department in this case.

CONTINUING FOCUS

This focus on the sheriff's department is continuing, with the current candidacy of Sonoma State College student Irv Sutley for sheriff.

Sutley, chairman of the Peace & Freedom party county central committee, is one of a number of candidates for the office in the June 2 election. His opponents include the head of the tactical squad, an undersheriff, a park ranger and a probation officer. Although he is a nonpartisan candidate for the office, activity around his campaign is helping to build interest in P&F in the area, and before registrations closed April 9, Sonoma county P&Fers had netted hundreds of new registrants. (Campaign headquarters is Box 436, Santa Rosa, 95402).

He has a nine point platform in his campaign, which includes:

- Experimentally disarm routine patrols of deputies. Initiate karate, judo and human relations courses for sheriff's personnel. Abolish use of MACE.
- End discrimination against non-English speaking inmates in jails.
- Recruit personnel from all segments of the county's population — ethnic, linguistic, economic and racial.
- Institute work furlough programs for county jail prisoners in which the prisoner will be able to have work that will pay expenses incured by the county during a jail term.
- Abolish the Sonoma county Tactical Squad.
- Ensure rights of all peoples are upheld. End harassment of people because of their race, appearance or standing in the community.

RECENT HARASSMENT

Sutley's campaign may provide at least a temporary organizing framework for some of the Sonoma State students, and faculty, who have been targets for all kinds of recent harassment.

A major target of harassment has been the student paper, The Steppes, which under editor Stan DeWitt and some of his associates has become a radical newspaper. Under pressure from conservative elements in the community, Sonoma State College President Ambrose Nichols froze the student funds necessary for the paper's publication.

Students fought the decision, and Title J of the California Administrative Code, which says students do not make the ultimate decision on how their money can be spent. Meanwhile, The Steppes kept coming out, in an "outlaw" edition. Student funds for the paper were finally thawed.

In one issue of the paper, a black student had written an article about an all night market across from the dormitories assailing it for its noise and high prices. The next time he walked into the market, he was arrested for petty theft.

Nancy Wilson sings for Dellums

BERKELEY — The Nancy Wilson Concert was truly a benefit to the Ronald V. Dellums campaign in more ways than one. A mixed crowd of 2,100 packed the Berkeley Community Theatre.

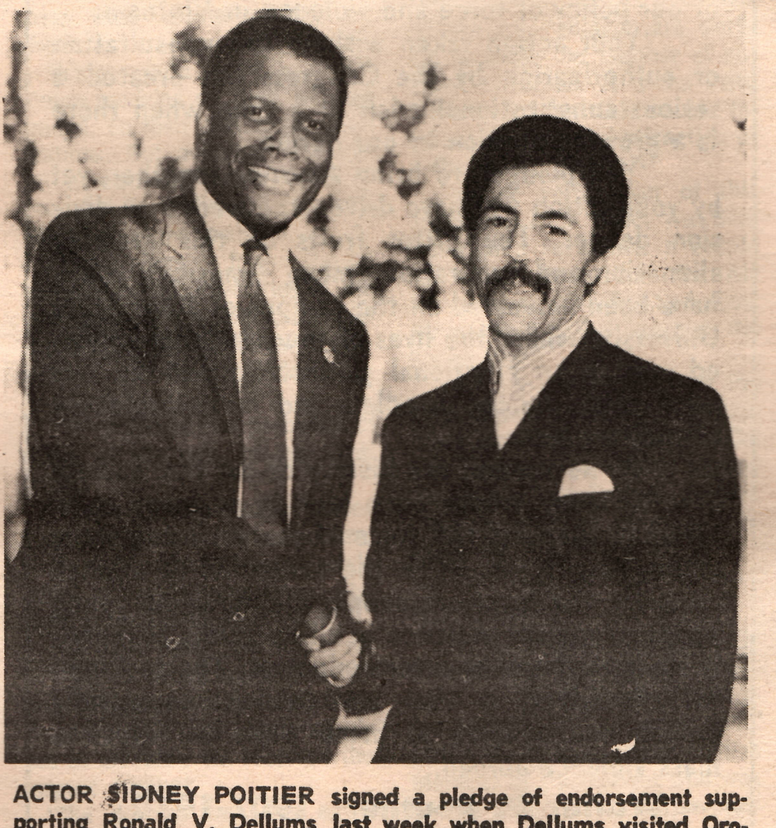
Dellums, candidate for office in the 7th Congressional District, presented Miss Wilson with a bouquet of red roses at the finish of the concert.

The significent and only political remark on the program was Miss Wilson's announcement, "The reason I am here today is that I am a Dame for Dellums."

She was accompanied by the Merrill Hoover Trio and received a standing ovation by the audience whom she had literally overwhelmed with her talent and artistry.

The packed house was proof of the popularity of Miss Wilson and the amount of organization that went into the effort.

Dellums suporters hope to heighten and extend it into all of the 7th Congressional District precincts.



ACTOR SIDNEY POITIER signed a pledge of endorsement supporting Ronald V. Dellums last week when Dellums visited Oroville and the Columbia Picture set of "Kane," which stars Poitier.

Pitschel benefit for new clinic

SAN FRANCISCO — The Pitschel Players will present a benefit for the Mission People's Health Center (Centro de Salud para le Gente), a free medical clinic opened during the recent city employes' strike.

The benefit is Sunday, May 17, 8:30 p.m. at the Intersection, 756 Union st. The Center, located at 2990-22nd st., needs money for medical supplies and equipment. If you can help or donate, call 285-3655.

The Pitschel Players performed regularly every Friday and Saturday night at the Intersection at 8:30. For ticket information call 397-6061.

Cuba, USSR reports May 30

BERKELEY — The Young Workers' Liberation League is giving a dinner and dance to welcome back members of the Venceremos Brigade and Abba Ramos, Bay Area warehouseman who toured the Soviet Union. They will talk about "socialism as we saw it."

There will be a chicken dinner and music by Jon Fromer. For the dinner and program, charge is $2. For just the dance and program, it's 50 cents.

The party is on May 30 at the Finn Hall, 1819-10th st., from 5:30 to 11:30. It will benefit the People's World and the YWLL.

Protests hit firing of Walton

SAUSALITO — The controversial black principal at Martin Luther King school, Sidney Walton, was fired. The pretext was the lowering of the school flag at half mast to mourn the war dead, U.S. and Vietnamese. This step had been urged by the student body and the majority of the faculty.

One day later, at a mass meeting at St. Andrews Presbyterian Church in Marin City, about 350 residents, black and white, from Marin City, Sausalito and Mill Valley protested this action.

They demanded the retention of Walton, and a restructuring of the school system to guarantee community control of the schools, through a plan projected by Walton.

PEOPLE'S WORLD
Published Weekly by the Pacific Publishing Foundation, Inc.
Executive Editor ....Carl Bloice
SEATTLE, Wash. 98122, 1408 18th ave., Phone EAst 9-9808.
SAN FRANCISCO 94103, 81 Clementina St., Phone EXbrook 2-1602.
LOS ANGELES 90014, 704 S. Spring St., Room 218. MA 6-6616.
SUBSCRIPTION RATES: By mail to the U.S. and Possessions. 1 year $7; 6 months $4.
Entered as Second Class Matter January 10, 1938, at the Post Office at San Francisco, California, under the act of March 8, 1879. Second Class postage paid at San Francisco, Calif.

Reuther, controversial leader, dies

SAN FRANCISCO — Walter Reuther's impact on labor history will be hotly debated now that the 62 year old leader of the United Auto Workers Union is dead.

Reuther, his wife, May Wolfe Reuther, and four others were killed Saturday, May 9, in a plane crash north of Detroit, Mich.

At the time of his death, Reuther was preparing to lead the UAW into what was considered by both labor and industry spokesmen the toughest auto negotiations since 1958.

The future of those negotiations and of the Alliance for Labor Action, of which Reuther was the main architect, is now unclear as is who will succeed him.

The ALA was a loose confederation of the UAW, the Teamsters and the Chemical Workers unions. It was formed after Reuther led the UAW out of the AFL-CIO in protest over the foreign and domestic policies of George Meany, AFL-CIO head.

Reuther was born in Wheeling, West Va., Sept. 1, 1907. His father, Valentine Reuther, became the youngest man ever, at age 23, elected president of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor

The second of three sons, Reuther left school at 15 to seek a tool and die apprenticeship at the Wheeling Steel Co.

He came to Detroit in 1926 and worked almost seven years at the Ford Motor Co.

He finished high school during this time and completed three years at Wayne University, majoring in economics and sociology.

When young Reuther was fired from Ford in 1933 for union activity, he and his younger brother, Victor, took their savings and toured Europe on bicycles.

They were in Berlin after the Reichstag fire. During the time they were in Germany, they helped anti-Nazi students escape from Hitler's storm troopers.

They also worked a stint in an auto plant in Gorki in the Soviet Union. They returned to the U. S. in 1935.

After returning to work in a tool and die shop, Reuther plunged into union organizing. He rose to the international executive board of the UAW in 1936 and was reelected to that post at every convention up to his death.

He was active in the 1936-37 sit-down strikes in Detroit and Flint. He was one of the leaders

In 1937 Reuther and other unionists were severely beaten by Ford thugs in what became known as the "Battle of the Overpass."

In the spring of 1938, two armed men broke into his home and attempted to kidnap him. Reuther and guests were able to beat them off.

As he rose to leadership in the UAW, Reuther also became a major figure in Democratic party politics. He supported every Democratic presidential candidate from Franklin Roosevelt to Hubert Humphrey.

He sat on many presidential commissions and was offered many government positions.

He was head of the UAW's General Motors Dept. during the 113 day long strike against GM in 1945-46.

During that strike, Reuther put forward the formula for what was called the UAW negotiating strategy.

BARGAINING TACTICS

He and union economists amassed data to prove that GM could grant wage increases without price increases and still make a substantial profit.

The UAW has characterized this policy as gains for its members, but not at the expense of the consumer.

In 1946 Reuther was elected president of the auto workers' union and also a vice president of the CIO.

In 1948, Reuther and his brother, Victor, were the targets of unknown assassins. Reuther lost the full use of his right arm and his brother lost an eye.

The gunmen were never located, but a black union leader, Nelson Davis, who was also a Communist, was held for two days on charges he allegedly knew something about the murder attempts.

In 1947 Reuther led a slate that threw out the left wing leadership of the UAW. He promised a clean-up campaign of "Communists" in the CIO and the UAW.

"We will not keep on the payroll anyone known to be disloyal to his country," he announced after the election victory.

During the Truman administration he was a vigorous supporter of the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan channeled millions of dollars into Western Europe in support of pro-U. S. governments.

It was one of the first major moves of the cold war and was aimed at destroying support for the united front, popular governments established during and after World War II.

He was an executive board member of the Intl. Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a rival labor group set up to oppose the left-led World Federation of Democratic Trade Unions.

Reuther also advocated stricter financial controls over the unions than were demanded in the Taft-Hartley Act.

In recent years the Reuther leadership had come under increasing attack from within the union over the demands of black workers charging it with failure to act on charges of racism in the plants and in some locals.

During the Chrysler strike of 1959 Reuther gave up a clause which would have prohibited discrimination in hiring, promotion, training in favor of stronger pension benefits.

In the 1960s he became a supporter of the civil rights movement and the farm workers' organizing drives.

Criticism has also been directed at the leadership for the manner in which it dealt with the prerogatives of management in handling speed up and on-the-job situations.

After many years of being involved in many government and private cold war activities, Reuther took the lead in 1967 in arranging exchange visits between auto workers and trade unionists from the Soviet Union.

"Your decision to invade the territory of Cambodia can only increase the enormity of the tragedy in which our nation is already deeply and unfortunately involved in that region. Your action must stand as a repudiation of your oft-repeated pledge to bring this tragic war to an end and not to escalate it. Widening the war at this point in time, once again merely reinforces the bankruptcy of our policy of force and violence in Vietnam.

"Your action taken without the consultation or authorization by the Congress has created a serious constitutional crisis at a time when there is a growing division in our nation.

"You pledged to bring America together, yet by your action you have driven the wedge of division deeper. The bitter fruits of this growing alienation and frustration among America's youth have been harvested on the campus of Kent State University where the lives of four students involved only in an emotional protest against the war were ended by the needless and inexcusable use of military force.

"At no time in the history of our free society have so many troops been sent to so many campuses to suppress the voice of protest by so many young Americans. With the exception of a small minority, the American people, including our young people, rejected violence in all its forms as morally repugnant and counterproductive. The problem, Mr. President, is that we cannot successfully preach non-violence at home while we escalate mass violence abroad."

— Walter P. Reuther, 1907-1970

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On the LINE

A RESOLUTION passed at the most recent meeting of the Alameda Central Labor Council has been mailed to all labor councils in the state urging them to take similar action concerning the Cambodian crisis.

The resolution which charged there is a tendency at the White House to violate Constitutional rights, asked Congress to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, cut off funds for the war (Cambodia now, Laos and Vietnam in December) and censure President Nixon for his "crime against the Constitution."

* * *

HAVING disaffiliated due to unhappiness over the California Federation of Labor under the leadership of Thomas L. Pitts, the State Council of Service Employees has decided to reaffiliate now that the federation is in the hands of John F. Henning.

A few weeks ago Pitts resigned as Federation secretary-treasurer citing disability reasons. Quickly a letter went out to SCSEU affiliated locals from George Hardy, the council's secretary. It read, in part:

"With the people of this state in general, and organized labor in particular, facing the combined reactionary forces of the Chamber of Commerce, the National Assn. of Manufacturers and the Neanderthal politicians of the stripe of Reagan, Murphy and Rafferty, the State Council of Service Employees, representing 80,000 men and women, have decided that reaffiliation is necessary in this election year.

". . . We hope that this action on our part will prompt other organizations not now affiliated with the California Labor Federation to re-examine their positions as we have done. In these critical times, we in organized labor must recognize our basic creed that in union there is strength, and end the fragmentation that only gives comfort to our enemies."

* * *

THIS probably belongs on the entertainment page but it's hard to pass up the opportunity of announcing that a program has been produced for radio by the George Meany Foundation for the Eternal Light series. Called "Challenge of the Seventies to Labor" it will be heard over NBC network stations May 17.

The three workers scheduled to appear on the panel discussion program are David L. Cole, noted arbitrator and mediator; Prof. George W. Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania and former chairman of the War Labor Board, and Rabbi Bernard Mandelbaum of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

* * *

GEORGE BROWN, candidate for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate, has received the endorsement of the United Farm Worker's Organizing Committee. The state AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) managed to overlook his opponent John Tunney's bad position on the grape strike and his relations with big growers and endorsed both men.

—COMRADE

Le Duan on economic reform

Enthusiasm is not enough

By BOB KAUFMAN

This is the third in a series of articles on the major document of the post Ho Chi Minh leadership of the Vietnamese Workers party, the leading party of N. Vietnam. The article, written by Le Duan, first secretary of the central committee of the party, was published in Hanoi Feb. 14 with the title, "Under the Glorious party banner . . . for independence, freedom and socialism, let us advance and achieve new victories."

Despite the bombs, despite the massive aid to their countrymen fighting in the south, the economic growth of North Vietnam has reached the point where reform of economic management is on the agenda.

Many of the same issues rocking Eastern Europe and debated throughout the socialist world are being discussed in North Vietnam. One of these is the question of economic laws under socialism. Are there such laws, independent of the subjective desires of men, or can the people in a socialist society achieve anything they put their minds and energy to?

To Le Duan there are such economic laws.

STRENGTH

"The strength of proletarian dictatorship," Le Duan says, "originates from the fact that it is capable of recognizing the laws of development in general, and setting forth a thesis which corresponds to the requirements of development.

"In the present conditions of the northern part of our country, where the development of production and the reassignment of socialist labor have just gone through their first phase, the regime of economic management should be extremely lively. It should follow the general laws of socialism."

The cutting edge of the debate over economic laws under socialism is over what is called the law of value. Under capitalism, commodities are exchanged more or less according to the amount of labor in them, their social cost. The question discussed in socialist societies revolves around how much should the cost of production of goods affect how they are distributed.

In the first years of building socialism in very poor underdeveloped countries, like the Soviet Union in its first years, or Vietnam, the top priority had to be given to just getting things produced, even at great cost, for instance in manpower.

It was, and still is necessary to produce certain things, like housing, or hospitals, that are very costly, but are necessary to make available to the people for little or no cost. But the question of planning not only for the pressing needs, but for the efficient use of people's labor and the resources of the society, becomes more and more important as the economy grows.

The stress on the operation of the law of value, and on reassuring the economic efficiency of a factory for instance, in terms of "profits," is a controversial one among socialists. Some have said it contradicts socialist planning. Le Duan doesn't think it does, at least in the way he thinks it should be used in socialist Vietnam.

Le Duan

"To deal with management of socialist economy, we should, first, deal with planning — a special strong point of the socialist economic regime. To bypass planning, minimize the important role of laws of the planned development of economy, is to depart from the nature of socialist economy and supress the organizational and economic managerial role of the proletarian dictatorial state."

But, it is within this context, "when all the economic arteries are in the hands of the proletarian state, when all exploiting classes are exterminated, and when small producers walk along the path of collective work," that, Le Duan says, "realities in building the economy in our country, as well as in our fraternal socialist states, prove that in economic management we must correctly use levers, prices, wages, profits and loans, and properly apply the economic auditing system and socialist trade formulas."

Le Duan makes clear he thinks the experience of other socialist countries, as well as the conditions in North Vietnam requires that within the context of socialist planning and working class power, both the "adequate use of market relations" and "encouragement by means of material benefits" have a place in building the socialist economy, along with measures to "step up political and ideological education and heighten the masses' socialist consciousness."

ARDUOUS

But, as Le Duan points out, "During the present phase, our national economy is poor, labor output is low. Correctly settling the relationship between initial accumulation and immediate consumption is an arduous struggle."

"Without initial accumulation," that is, the spending of the hard won resources and the precious labor of a people under constant attack on basic production machinery, dams, raw material production and the

(Continued on page 10)

Ky announces the Vietnamization of Cambodia

(Continued from Page One)

porters on the banks of the Mekong river in Cambodia twenty miles from the capitol, Phnom Penh.

Ky was inspecting the site of a new Saigon regime military base being built at Neak Luong, the key river crossing on highway one, the main road between Phnom Penh and Saigon.

Ky told the reporters, "In 1965 we needed the mass intervention by the United States. Now that is what we are trying to do in Cambodia, to give them time to build up their armed forces. The day that the Cambodian army can fight the North Vietnamese, itself, we will go home."

To that end the Saigon regime is building eight air fields in Cambodia, and announced Saturday the start of a naval blockade of the Cambodian coast.

That was also the strategic purpose for the South Vietnamese gunboat flotilla rush up the Mekong to Neak Luong, and then through to Phnom Penh.

All of Cambodia east of the Mekong river is liberated territory, the stronghold of the Cambodian National United Front, the political leadership of the newly united front of the nationalist and neutralist forces supporting Prince Norodon Sihanouk, and the Cambodian left, including the Communist party.

Except for the moment the areas along the border with South Vietnam are being ravaged by 50,000 U.S. troops.

By keeping the river corridor open between South Vietnam and Phnom Penh, the U.S.-Saigon forces believe they can prevent the otherwise surrounded capitol of the Lon Nol regime from falling, at least through the monsoon season.

The reason claimed for the flotilla up the Mekong was, ironically, the rescue of Cambodians of Vietnamese nationality, not from the "Viet Cong" but from mass murder and persecution at the hands of the Lon Nol regime.

"VIET MINH"

Just days before the Saigon flotilla came to save him, Lon Nol told a meeting of pro-regime Cambodian ambassadors that because it was so difficult to distinguish between "North Vietnamese," "Viet Minh" (the name of the liberation forces that fought against French colonialism in the 1950's under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. Lon Nol, an old French colonial officer, uses this term to refer to the anti-regime liberation forces) and Vietnamese nationals, he wanted to expell all 600,000 Vietnamese civilians from Cambodia.

Just the day before the arrival of the Saigon forces, Lon Nol announced all the property of Vietnamese being forced to leave would be confiscated without compensation and distributed to Cambodians. He backed away from that scheme when his Saigon saviours arrived.

Meanwhile evidence mounts that great numbers of Cambodian-born Vietnamese have gone over to the forces of the Cambodian National United Front.

The Lon Nol regime May 5, in an effort to justify their attacks on native Vietnamese, said that the "Viet Cong," "did not have enough arms for the new recruits in such areas as Koh Tham, Prey Lovea, and Po To Su," though they claimed the people were being forcibly recruited.

If that is possible, the conditions for the native Vietnamese population of the areas along the eastern border invaded by the United States is even worse than elsewhere.

Whole areas along the border have been declared free fire zones where anything that moves may be fired on. Thousands of civilians, Cambodians and especially Vietnamese, have been captured as "Viet Cong." The presence of large numbers of Vietnamese, who have lived in these areas for generations, is convenient confirmation for the U.S. authorities that the area was occupied by the "North Vietnamese."

London Sunday Times reporter Murray Sayle described how the U.S. forces find "Viet Cong" bases in eastern Cambodia. In a May 10 story from the front with the U.S. invasion forces, Sayle described coming into a "typical Cambodian village, with its tall Buddhist temple, houses on stilts among the trees, and a neat little mud plastered school house." He landed with U.S. troops in assault helicopters.

"Well," I asked the lieutenant "What have we got here?" "This could be a big enemy base installation," he said. As we walked around he listed the finds.

"VC barracks installations," he said, pointing to some long buildings on sticks. "Or where the monks from the temple live?" I said.

"Viet Cong indoctrination and briefing centre," he said. "More likely the schoolhouse?" I pointed out that the blackboard had the day's lesson written in Cambodian, which Viet Cong were unlikely to understand.

PIG WALLOW

"A long, muddy pond could be," the lieutenant said, "a North Vietnamese obstacle course for commando training. It could also have been the Cambodian villagers' pig wallow.

"What about these enemy rice caches?" the lieutenant asked as we studied a bin full of rice in the kitchen of an exquisite Cambodian house. I suggested that as Cambodians eat rice too, one would expect to find some in their houses."

Sayle reported the U.S. forces did find evidence that some Vietnamese guerrillas were camped near the village, but not very many.

The low number of U.S. casualties, which the Nixon administration cites as proof of the success of the Cambodian invasion, Sayle and other reporters say is simply the result of little but isolated resistance to the massive World War II blitzkrieg style U.S. military operation.

The attack on the town of Snoul, which destroyed half the town, came after scattered shooting at the U.S. forces from a few guerrillas. Yet Lieutenant-Colonel Grail Brookshire reportedly shouted to his men, "Men, there are one to three thousand Dinks (racist term for Vietnamese) dug in up ahead and if we don't get them out we will be fighting here all week." Then he called in the air strike.

Brookshire claimed a body count of 88 "Viet Cong," but reporters on the scene could see nothing like this total.

Meanwhile, in Peking, the unity of the Cambodian anti-imperialist movement was formally consummated, with the completion of the first congress of the Cambodian National United Front May 6.

The congress adopted a program for CNUF aimed at "realizing the broadest national union for fighting against all the maneuvers and aggression of the U.S. imperialists."

Striking in the program is its declaration that the Front "coordinates its struggle," with the struggles of the Pathet Lao, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and North Vietnam. This idea of coordinated mutual defense against the U.S. is new. It was the major achievement of the Indochina summit conference Sihanouk convened last month.

Good & welfare

Demonstration & organization

IT'S "BEEN a long time coming" wrote the astute James Reston, but students are now beginning to realize that "demonstrating without organizing is like kissing the girl and running for home — a pleasant experience with no lasting consequences."

Reston wrote in Monday's New York Times about how pleased he was that "young political activists are taking a more realistic view of the practical problems of politics." As might have been expected Reston's view of practical politics is to immerse oneself in the November elections.

It's funny how some big wig writers and politicians on the East Coast seem to think youthful activism is a political current which can be usefully praised and encouraged for a period of time and then gently nudged back into the customary channels.

They use all manner of arguments to get their job done. For instance, the night before the Reston column appeared NBC ran one of those editorials. Vice - President whatever-his-name-was counselled students not to feel they hadn't accomplished anything. Reacting to the feeling expressed by some that the giant rally in Washington last week hadn't accomplished much, NBC said, quite the contrary, the President's announcement that troops would soon be withdrawn from Cambodia was proof positive that peaceful demonstrations work.

The NBC statement can, of course, be dismissed without much bother. Coming as it did on the eve of the fateful Monday of decision on hundreds of campuses, it was clearly calculated for effect. It didn't work, thank heavens. But Reston requires a bit more attention.

NO ONE should argue that participation in the upcoming elections is not extremely important. Here on the West Coast, there are some very critical races which will, perhaps, be decided in the June primary, only a few weeks away. The most important races involve black and Chicano candidates and two of them are in Congressional races. But that doesn't mean we have to get sidetracked the way people like Reston would have it.

Getting out the vote for your local liberal Democrat — ringing doorbells, licking stamps and passing out leaflets — isn't organizing either. In fact an argument could be made that it takes more talking with people, more skill at political propaganda and the building of more permanent political associations planning a demonstration than conducting the customary political campaign. Reston's distinction between organizing and campaigning; between getting out the vote and striking is a phoney and need not be considered by anyone to pose options.

THE PROPER thing to do at this point is what is most effective; to do that which will result in the most pressure on Washington, the most exposure and public education about the nature of the present foreign and domestic crisis and the most mobilization of mass public sentiment, be it expressed in the ballot box or on the Washington Mall.

At this point the democratic process is being expressed as much in the streets as anywhere else. The channels have been clogged and corroded for some time now. But it was the decision of the President to completely bypass such things as the Congress and the Constitution in waging war that sent people into the streets and provoked strikes on campuses. Sorry Mr. Reston, that's where it's at. The next move is up to Washington, not Berkeley. In the meantime — no business as usual, anywhere.

—CARL BLOICE

Members of Venceremos Brigade arrive in Havana.

Venceremos Brigade

'Heat & fatigue become lessons in revolutionary discipline. . .'

The following is a statement drawn up by the Communist party members of the Venceremos Brigade, recently returned from Cuba where they took part in the historic effort to produce 10 million tons of sugar during this year's harvest. It was passed on to the People's World by a member of the brigade returning to Northern California.

HAVANA

Work for the people is labor for love . . .

As the difference between sweat for individual survival and sweat as necessary for the survival of the revolution becomes clear, new wells of energy emerge; the ache in your machete hand lessens, you and your work merge, and heat and fatigue become lessons in revolutionary discipline . . .

Bourgeois values fall and each person is respected regardless of how fast he works¼ as long as he works as hard and as well as he can because socialism is the building of a better society and each worker contributes to the building according to his ability . . .

Internationalism . . .

Representatives of the revolutionary people of Latin America, Harlem, Vietnam, Chicago, Africa, Los Angeles, Korea, San Francisco, and the Soviet Union, cut cane for the Cuban revolution and international solidarity means peace for all people . . .

(The NLF soldier works alongside a citizen of the United States and sings "Solidarity Forever" and knows, better than his partner does, all the words of this song of the workers who fathered the men who are forced to invade his country, and he understands who the real enemy is . . . He smiles at his U. S. comrade with the love and enthusiasm of a real revolutionary and their machetes move together in support of the Cuban revolution.)

The Cuban revolution cannot be stopped . . .

The 11-year-old black schoolgirl from Oriente tells the white school teacher from New York what relevant education means (In 1958 there were 717,000 students in primary school, in 1968 there were 1,457,000) . . .

A little gatorade.

Medical doctors become guards at night and professionalism is on its way out. (Before the revolution there were 300-400 cases of polio per year, in 1969 there were none) . . .

A cattle boat is converted in 14 days to accomodate 500 members of our brigade . . . and the spirit of the Cuban people sings, and in honor of Playa Giron there is the sound of machetes and paint brushes and drums instead of home-style parading, and all the people are ready to defend Cuba at any time . . .

NEW MEN

The Cuban revolution will produce a new man . . . Children leave home voluntarily beginning at the age of 12 or 13 to study in rural schools and work in the fields to help feed all the people and most families are anxious to participate because Cuba understands that work and education and value of self are one . . .

Racism, male supremacy, professionalism, the cult of authority are dealt with ideologically and economically and they begin to disappear. (Military officers are called "Companero" instead of "Sir") . . .

Artists are salaried and equipped so they can create a new culture . . . All basic needs are given to all the people and the Cuban people volunteer and sacrifice to make it possible . . .

The mental and physical blockade imposed by the U. S. can be broken . . .

The Cuban boat sails south in full view of the hotels of pink-haired Miami Beach in the early morning and 500 young people crowd the decks and raise their fists in disgust and in triumph . . .

Yes Eastland, we are a danger to you because we will come home, and know the truth about your riches that are robbed from the people, and Cuba's economic struggle to feed the people . . . No, U.S.A., you can not stop us from seeing or revolutionary Cuba from being . . .

And many have their first collective experience in brigades of people from all parts, all races, of their country . . . and the Third World conducts seminars that teach the truth of Third World people in Babylon and many understand for the first time that it is necessary to support self-determination for the Third World struggle at home and that this struggle will be the vanguard, the leader, of the total struggle for freedom of all oppressed people in the United States . . .

And we discuss the way, how, and what of our struggle and we begin a slow and suspicious attempt to communicate over years of the mental blockade called racism, the blockade imposed on the people of the U.S. by the pig system that cannot afford for the working class to know the truth about its own self — the class that harvests and builds and moves the country — the class that if unified can stop the system and build a new society . . .

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

And the young women from the United States and Cuba cut cane and become good macheteras and we deal with male supremacy by doing and talking and another blockade begins to crack . . .

And together with our Cuban comrades we live a 24-hour-a-day, 2 month long political experience . . . and we watch their examples of discipline, unity, and humanity, and we come to recognize what people are capable of . . .

From those who went out from Havana in 1961 to teach literacy, to those who fought gun in hand at Playa Giron to defend the revolution, to those (who are now advanced workers, mem-

WORLD MAGAZINE

MAY 16, 1970

BURMA
NORTH VIETNAM
LAOS
THAILAND
CAMBODIA
SOUTH VIETNAM
MALAYA

OUT NOW

Funeral services for 25 Cambodians killed in the U.S. attack on Dak Dam in December 1969.

Road home from Cambodia

> "I don't blame 18-year-olds for not wanting to go to Cambodia and be killed. I had a daughter and now she's dead."
>
> Mrs. Doris Krause, mother of Allison Krause, one of four students shot and killed by the National Guard at Kent State University, Ohio.

There are moments when history relentlessly puts questions that demand prompt answers: if the answers lag, mankind pays the price. Such a moment confronts the American people today, since President Nixon — without heeding his people's will, or our Congress — ordered our troops to crash into the neutral country of Cambodia and resume bombing North Vietnam.

This set off an explosion of protest, both at home and abroad. We are in the midst of an unparalleled national crisis of democracy, wherein the Executive is reaching for a boundless authoritarian power, scorning all constitutional guarantees.

It flies in the face of the unquestioned reality, which is that the vast majority in our nation, as well as in the world, desperately wants to close the insatiable maw of this insane war that is devouring our children, both at the front and now here, at home, as the tragedy at Kent reveals.

End the war or we approach the point of no return, voices everywhere warn. This was the admonition, too, of Gus Hall, in his press conference after the Nixon aggression.

"Stop this madman," was the content of a wire from Aldan, Pennsylvania, to Senator William J. Fulbright. Only a few days after the fateful border crossing, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had received 4,000 telegrams that ran ten to one against the Nixon invasion of Cambodia. This proportion increases day by day and gives lie to the doctored arithmetic of the White House on the alleged national response.

As we write, the news ticker announces plans for hundreds of new meetings, on campus and off, in cities and in towns, a rising ferment in the national capital and elsewhere, all demanding the end of the war.

Demands arise on the floor of Congress and in the country as a whole, that appropriations to the military to continue the killings in Southeast Asia be voted down.

Other cries are heard, calling for the impeachment of the President. The wave of anguished outcry swept the campus, both before and after the killings of the young in Kent, and it included university presidents as well as faculties and student bodies. The scope is unprecedented.

Most Americans feel that Nixon's bar-room slander of dissenting students as "bums" triggered the gunfire at Kent by laying the atmosphere for escalation of violence here at home.

His cold-blooded statement after the shooting poured oil on rising fires. Up until then he had fastidiously allowed his vice president to use back-alley lingo, but today Nixon vies with Agnew for the honors. Nixon: "these bums" are "blowing up the campus" and "burning up the books." Agnew: "... the criminal left belongs not in a dormitory but in a penitentiary."

What is America learning? This: despite all the administration's pious talk about seeking peace and "aiding democracy" in Southeast Asia, its motivations are precisely those of the traditional despoilers of the remote, hard-working Asian peoples. Our government is doing the bidding of the biggest monopoly interests who pant for the region's raw materials at the cheapest prices, precisely what the French colonialists wanted ever since 1858, when the Gallic imperialists first invaded Vietnam. Dienbienphu turned them out, on May 7, 1954. This obliged the former French rulers to sign the Geneva agreements which ended Paris' rule in Indo-China.

Nor do U.S. motivations differ from those of the Mikado's armies that rampaged across Vietnam from 1940 to 1944, until the world anti-Axis movement, in army uniform, pushed them out.

The Americans of Songmy are doing the same job the French and Japanese imperialists did, only ours have more modernized weaponry.

The kill count is higher.

And now the blood-stained ritual of the kill count escalates on our own shores. What parent was not hurt to his heart when he saw the photo of the young dead body at Kent and the girl student weeping bitterly over it, her exhorting arms outstretched to humanity for help. Americans are determined that this photo is not to be the image of America. The dead of Songmy reach out to the dead of Kent. They reach out to the valiant black youth, the Black Panthers, who have long been killed in our ghettos. Killing Asians is the counterpart in our foreign policy to killing black Americans on our home scene.

The key to abort Nixon's grab for a total power to make war and further repression is to force the administration to end the war in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. As Georgi Dimitrov said a generation ago, under alarmingly reminiscent circumstances, "The fight against war is the fight against fascism... "

Voices within the decisive camp of our populace — labor — are saying just that. Robert Holmes, international vice president of the Teamsters Union, talked for most of the working class when he said: "We of labor must add our voices and pressure of our members to lead a fight against this Nixon foreign policy, because it sure isn't the American people's foreign policy."

How clean his statement reads after George Meany had his say, which seemed like Judas pointing his finger at his victim. The president of the AFL-CIO betrayed the interests of the membership when he said Nixon should "have the full support of the American people. He has ours." He certainly has not. As Gus Hall said, Meany was talking primarily for himself and for Jay Lovestone, old servitors of imperialism's policy.

So, the reply to the question history poses is this: our people must achieve the unity of the widest range of all who want to end the war. That covers most of the political spectrum. A militant united front of all peace and democratic segments is the imperative answer. It must and can be of unprecedented scope and power.

The task before us is to transcend all other differences, regard everything else as subordinate to the main issue, the creation of a vast united front to end the war.

This means a relentless search for areas of agreement. It does not mean measures of desperation, attempted short-cuts, as some misguided individuals advocate. It means a consistent, all-out effort to unite all peace lovers, black and white, working class and professional, all, regardless of their affiliations. The time is ripe for such a peace coalition and it can achieve positive results in the immediate future — toward an end to wars, racism, repression, and to end starvation levels of life.

The key word is unity and most of the world sees that. In fact, the invasion of Cambodia had the effect of crystallizing a greater united front in Asia, and throughout the world, against Wall Street imperialism. "What the Hitler invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland did to solidify a world front against fascist aggression, the Nixon-ordered invasion of Laos and Cambodia is doing to extend a front against American imperialism," Gus Hall said.

It has already done exactly that in Asia. There, Hall pointed out, unity has been achieved in Cambodia, whereas until the invasion the genuinely patriotic forces were in scattered array. Now they have banded together in the National United Front. In Laos, he said, the Lao Patriotic Front has political control of two-thirds of Laotian territory.

The aggression has added several millions of Laotian and Cambodian forces to combat U.S. imperialism. "They will never be short of weapons and supplies. The socialist countries and anti-imperialists everywhere will not let them down," Hall said. This was the essence, too, of the grave warning Premier Aleksei Kosygin delivered in his press interview in Moscow.

At this writing the nation, like most of the world, has embarked on the course of a giant dissent. We predict that it will grow, despite all the administration can do to halt it.

For we Americans — in our majority — want the guns to stop talking so that our voices can be heard.

Isn't this what young Allison Krause died for, there on that bright May day on the meadow of an American college?

Joseph North

— Joseph North
Editor, The Magazine
May 6, 1970

Against the aggressor

We are happy to publish this article by our Moscow correspondent Mike Davidow — written during a recent journey to Vietnam. In Hanoi he interviewed the editor of a leading newspaper, Huong Tung, and affords our readers the record of how the Fatherland Front was created and expanded. It is particularly timely, as we see in Cambodia, under pressure of the American attack, the emergence of a similar people's force.

By MIKE DAVIDOW

If anything symbolizes Vietnam, it is its bamboo tree, which bends gracefully to meet the furious winds of the frequent typhoons but is never broken by them. This combination of firmness and flexibility was impressed upon me during my discussions with leaders of the Vietnam Workers Party and of the Fatherland Front.

Huong Tung, editor of Nhan Dan, organ of the Vietnamese Workers Party, told me that heroism was never lacking in the Vietnamese peoples' centuries of struggle for independence. "But it's not enough to fight," he noted. "One must never fight in a foolish way. In our struggle we were always confronted with the problem: how to make it possible for the small to defeat the big, the weak to overcome the strong."

Huong Tung pointed out that at every stage in its history — whether it was to beat back constant invasions by Chinese feudal lords or French, Japanese or U.S. imperialists, the Vietnamese rallied an all-peoples' front of resistance. And though suffering setbacks and experiencing periods of foreign domination, it was thus able to maintain its independence through most of its 3,000-year history.

The ability to mobilize such a people's struggle, Huong Tung noted, was aided by certain particular features of Vietnam history. Feudal lords had far less a grip on the land than was the case in most countries in feudal times. There was even a law which limited the land an individual could hold to 5-10 acres. As a result, he said, struggles against foreign invasion bore the character of a people's struggle. Feudal lords, to retain or secure power, had to participate and lead these struggles. Many kings came from peasant backgrounds. Unlike the history of most countries, dynasties hardly existed in Vietnam. Huong Tung smiled and said: "It would have been well if some of our enemies were better acquainted with our history."

My lesson in Vietnamese history was considerably expanded during an interview with Huong Quoc Viet, Chairman of the Vietnamese Fatherland Front and head of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor. The Fatherland Front, which today unites the entire nation in the fight against U.S. aggression, is the inheritor and continuator of this centuries-old heritage. "If you want to understand the Fatherland Front you will have to hear me out on our history," he stated. As I listened, I was struck by his deep study and intense pride in the history of his people's struggle for independence. The pride and knowledge is characteristic of all Vietnam leaders I met.

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"The history of the past 40 years," Huong Quoc said, "was a history of struggle for an ever-broader people's front. From its very inception in 1930, the Communist Party of Indo-China (now Vietnamese Workers Party) viewed the struggle as a battle against imperialist domination and a struggle against feudalism." But, he noted, the party did not equate the two struggles. It recognized that, above all, Vietnam had to expel the foreign invader before it could solve its internal problems and, in particular, rid the country of its regressive feudalistic influences. It was in mobilizing the broadest patriotic movement around the primary task facing the people that the forces necessary to deal effectively with the second task could be rallied. Thus, Hoang Quoc noted, the Communist Party of Indo-China adapted its slogans and tactics to meet the specific needs of each stage in the struggle for national independence and democracy. The latter question it viewed as, above all, a peasant question, solving the problem of giving "land to the tillers."

Hoang Quoc outlined the various stages in the struggle and described how the party flexibly adjusted its slogans and tactics. The first stage (1930-35) called for slogans and tactics that could unite the entire people against French colonialism. Even considerable sections of the feudal classes, groaning under the heel of foreign oppression, were ready to enter into a common front for national independence. At this stage, therefore, the slogan "land to the tillers" would only serve to divide the nation's ranks and narrow the movement for resistance. Thus, the slogan was shelved in this period.

The united front that developed under the party's leadership included the Nationalist Party, representing the Vietnam national capitalists who also exercised influence among the peasantry. After the French imperialists crushed the revolutionary uprisings which established soviets in two North Vietnam provinces, some sections of the Nationalist Party capitulated to the French and fought against the revolution. But the majority joined with the Communists in the national liberation struggle. Many are today members of the Vietnam Workers Party.

The second stage (1935-39) was ushered in with the establishment of a People's Front Government in France (1936). This democratic development in the oppressing country opened up new opportunities for the national liberation forces in Vietnam. Conditions for a broader united front now existed and again the party adjusted its slogans and tactics to suit the new conditions. It put forth the slogan "raise the living standards of the people" to rally the broadest democratic front. It rallied the broadest sections of the peasants around the slogan calling for reduction in land rent and, likewise, won mass supprt from the workers around the demand for an increase in wages and the reduction of the work day to 8 hours (it

Continued on page 8

Daily World

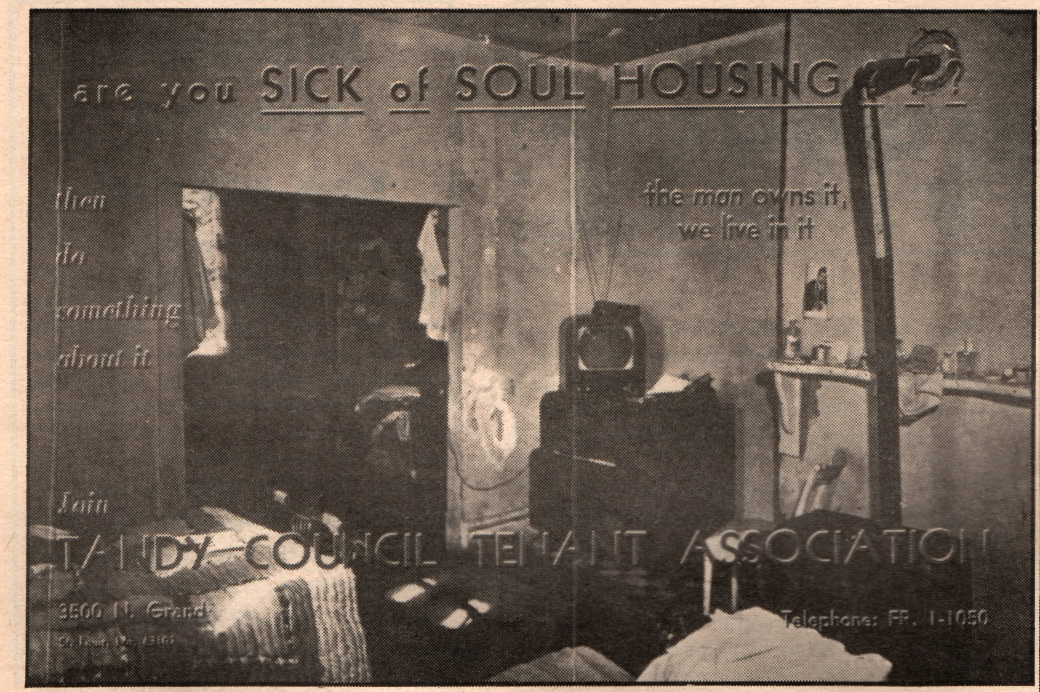
ALL U.S. TROOPS OUT OF S.E. ASIA NOW!
VIETNAM PEACE PARADE COMMITTEE
FLUORESENT
BOND'S

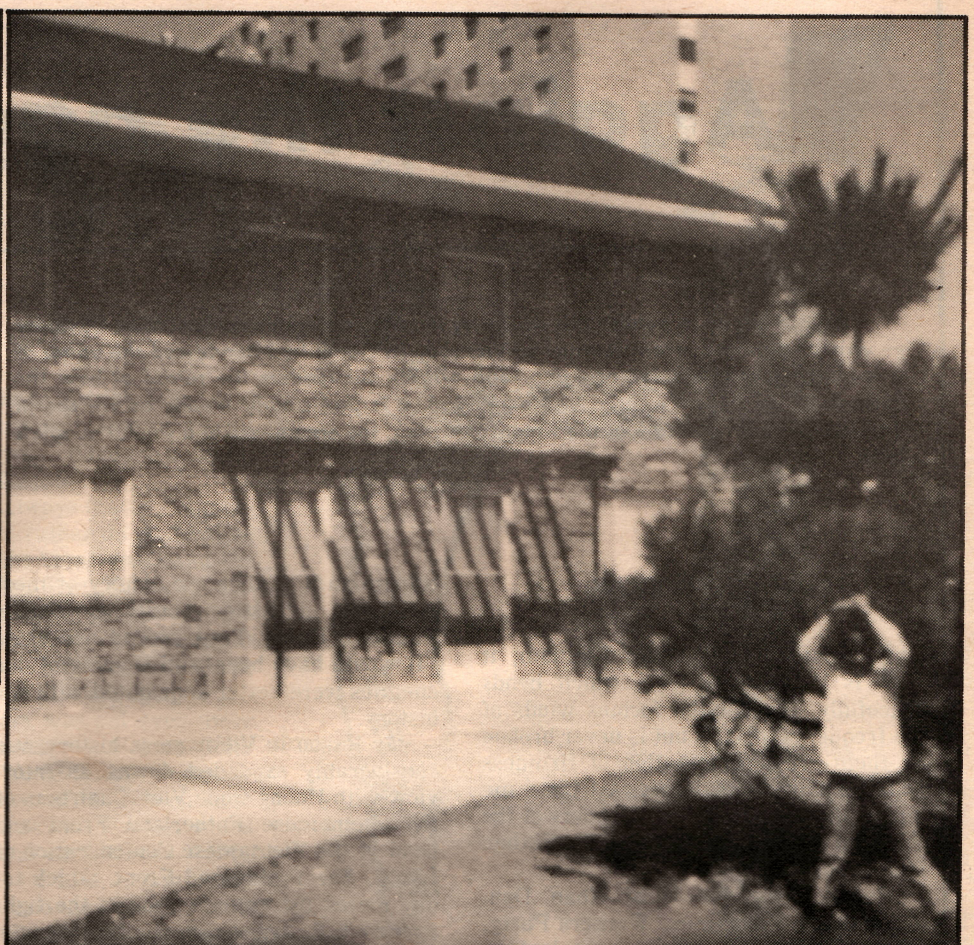
Chants of "Impeach Nixon" filled the night air as New Yorkers marched down Broadway in the Times Square area to demonstrate their angry opposition to Nixon's orders to invade Cambodia.

Protests around the world

The U.S. invasion of Cambodia has triggered protests around the world. They not only came from the socialist countries and from the Communist parties everywhere, but from most developing countries and even from among establishment forces among NATO nations.

The *INDIAN* Minister of Foreign Affairs, Diehesh Singh, told parliament that his government deeply regrets the new U.S. war moves ... the *NIGERIAN* Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee is demanding an immediate stop to U.S. aggression. . .the chairman of the National People's Party of *EAST PAKISTAN* calls the invasion of Cambodia a "flagrant violation of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia" ... Foreign Minister Mitchell Sharp of *CANADA* expressed his government's anxiety over the expansion of the war in a statement before the House of Commons . . .The Daily Telegraph in Accra, *GHANA*, said that the Cambodian action will isolate the U.S. from all peaceloving peoples. . .the Transport and General Workers' Union of *BRITAIN*, largest union in the country, demanded a pullout of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia . . .in *FRANCE* the National Federation of Railroad Workers, the Chemical Workers' Union and the Building Industry Workers condemned U.S. aggression . . .a joint statement of the *CHILEAN* political parties and organizations affiliated to the People's Unity Movement stated that Washington has "violated the elementary norms of international law" ... many conservative newspapers in the *GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC*, including the Frankfurter Rundschau, Westphaelische Rundschau and Koelner Stadtanzeiger criticized U.S. action ... in *ROME* the student movement decided to stage a strike against U.S. aggression. . .all four opposition parties of *JAPAN* published statements strongly denouncing U.S. intervention in Cambodia. . .the social democratic paper Arbeiderbladet in *NORWAY* said that the only way to peace in Southeast Asia is for letting the people "determine their own destiny" ... Prime Minister Olof Palme of *SWEDEN* told a social democratic youth convocation that the invasion of Cambodia "signifies a political and moral defeat of the U.S.. . ." the newspaper Annida in *LEBANON* strongly condemned U.S. action. . .the *SUDAN*'s Foreign Minister Babiker Avadalla characterized the invasion of Cambodia as a "reactionary plot" ...





The Tandy neighborhood: above, the way it was for all and, right, the way it is now, for some, as a result of the Tandy Area Council's campaign for "changes for a better life in Tandy."

A union gets involved

By MARY THOMAS

ST. LOUIS

Here in the shadow of the gleaming Jefferson Arch, signifying the opening up of the West, a union is opening up new fields for trade union activity. That union, consisting of 58,000 teamsters in and around greater St. Louis, has long recognized that a union member's problems don't stop when the union dues have been collected and a contract signed with the bosses.

Like many unions, Teamsters Joint Council 13 has an extensive health program of which it is justly proud. The union's Labor Health Institute has quarters in Council Plaza, a bleakly modern complex of union offices, small stores, and two new apartment buildings with 603 efficiency and one-room middle-income apartments for the elderly.

But the union's most unique contribution to its members is not in Council Plaza but a few blocks away. There the union has started a community organization, dedicated to reaching "all people who are tired of 'things as they are' and want some changes made... changes for a better life in Tandy."

The Tandy neighborhood, including about four square miles of rundown homes in north St. Louis, takes its name from a local park. Most of the residents are black. About one-third of the city's 750,000 population is black.

A St. Louisan who is not a teamster, told this reporter proudly about the Tandy Area Council. TAC is open to everyone, not just teamster members. "It started in the winter of 1967," he said. "Some stewards from Local 688 started it, at first only for 688 members. But then lots of other people wanted to join and the union expanded it. Last year the Tandy Council outgrew its first headquarters and moved to a building which used to be a bank." He laughed. We agreed that it was a good use for a bank — like the former palaces that socialist countries turn into youth centers and other workers' facilities.

The union provided money for the headquarters and for two fulltime community organizers and a secretary at first. TAC now has one organizer and a secretary. The people of the community do the rest of the work — as volunteers. And the work is a lot to handle. A Housing Committee was formed early in TAC's existence. Housing conditions are bad in Tandy. Absentee landlords are commonplace. The first head of the Housing Committee was Donald Hinton who is now TAC's community organizer.

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Hinton outlined some of the area's housing problems in an interview with the Missouri Teamster. "There are so few adequate houses for large and low income families," he said. "Though the Fair Housing law has passed, the area is still restricted for ghetto and low income black citizens. Rehabilitation and Urban Renewal projects, even those funded by the federal government, move out the poor, then isolate them for readmission. Actually they are geared to reach the middle income blacks." He was referring to urban renewal which has hit downtown St. Louis like a bomb.

Another black leader in St. Louis told me that black families had been moved from Mill Creek to the West End, which was thus turned into another low income black ghetto where displaced families were forced into inadequate and substandard housing at exorbitant rents. "Very few of the families displaced by urban renewal moved back into Laclete or Council Plaza," she said.

The TAC Tenants Association has a sardonic label for its housing campaign — "Sick of Soul Housing." The tenants hold regular classes where they are acquainted with their rights and what to do about them. Tenants are shown how to take the landlord to court under a new receivership law. Organizing goes on at the homes on Saturdays. Many evenings are spent at special municipal night courts set up for tenant complaints. The tenants also use union techniques in bargaining for contracts with their landlords.

Although housing is a big problem in Tandy, the TAC also recognizes other problems and tries to do something about them. A youth group, the Black Revealers, grew out of summertime sports activities. It went on to become an active part of TAC. The young people help in all kinds of TAC projects. They chose their own name — revealers of "situations in the ghetto and helping to better the situation."

The council also has a Homeowners Guild, for the many small homeowners in the area. They, too, face problems of discrimination — by banks, in tax assessments, etc. And they, too, want to improve the neighborhood.

A Welfare Recipients Committee works on getting larger allotments, better food stamp programs, and job training programs.

Jobs—and the lack of good ones—are also the concern of a new task force within TAC. An on-the-job-training program with funds from the federal government is one possibility. St. Louis has a large unemployment rate among its black workers — almost 13 percent. But even worse than that is the subemployment rate — people who are employed only part-time or at poverty level wage rates. The subemployment rate is 40 percent in the blak community. And, of course, the rate — both unemployment and subemployment — for black youth is even higher.

Classes in Afro-American history have been held at TAC. One of TAC's mottos is "If Black is Beautiful, Prove It."

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Many unions provide health services for their members. Some have camps for members' children and families. Some aid their members with housing and other personal problems. But how many unions in the country go into neighborhoods and set up independent councils to struggle on the community's problems? Not many, but there are a few others.

This I learned from the editor and assistant editor of the Missouri Teamster, monthly newspaper of Joint Council 13. Phyllis Poore, editor, and Lily Ann Mitchell, her assistant, did not think TAC was that unusual. But they could only cite a few other examples — in Atlanta (an Alliance for Labor Action project), in Watts, and in Chicago.

Miss Poore and Mrs. Mitchell are unusual themselves. Journalism is not a field wide open to women; few women become editors and even fewer black women. Mrs. Mitchell is black. Both are young and attractive and very savvy about their union and their work.

"No, the Teamsters Joint Council is not a black union and neither is Local 688," they answered to my question. They explained the union's interest in St. Louis' black community as a natural consequence of a long-time union policy of community involvement.

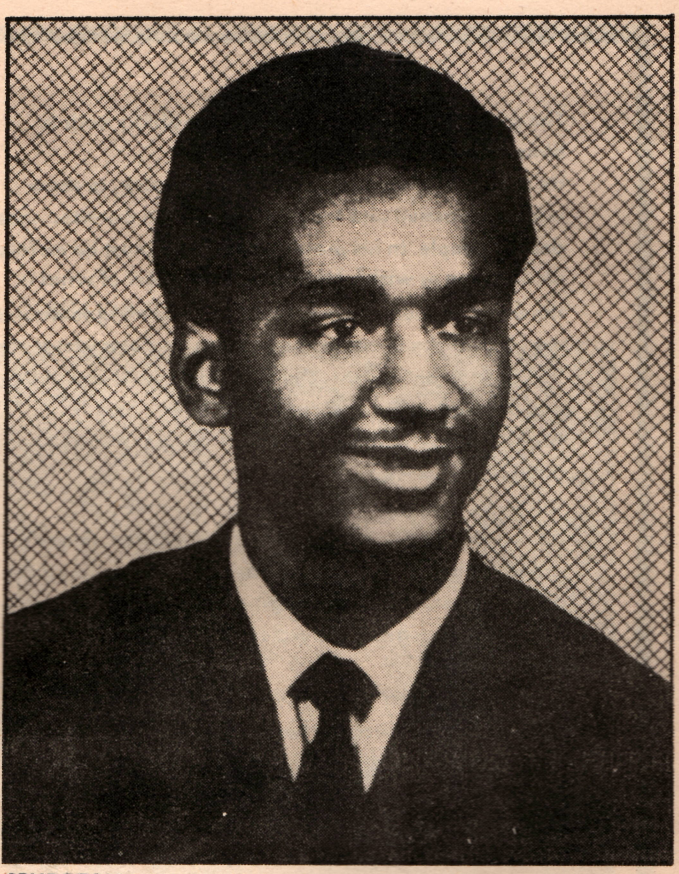
Under the leadership of president Harold Gibbons, the union has gotten involved in everything. A column on "Let's Discuss Vietnam" is a regular feature of the Missouri Teamster. And union members picketed against pollution a long time before the politicians discovered Earth Day. Gibbons himself has taken a strong stand against the war.

The Teamsters Union was the key force last year in settling an eight-month rent strike by public housing tenants — with a victory for the tenants.

The union's involvement policy spread to the Steamfitters Union which threw its strength behind the tenants also. So did United Auto Workers Region 5, which has also recently joined in sponsorship of TAC.

Not long ago the inevitable happened. Local 688 members living in a mostly white workingclass area of St. Louis decided to follow Tandy's lead. They got a grant of $200 from the local, opened their own headquarters and formed the Carondolet Area Council. If the idea of union-sponsored community councils can spread across St. Louis, maybe it can spread to your city and mine. Think on it.

Black Panthers serve their people



SPURGEON "JAKE" WINTERS Black Panther

By LINCOLN WEBSTER SHEFFIELD

CHICAGO

In the current drive to exterminate the Black Panther Party, scant attention has been focused by the establishment press on the Panther programs aimed at serving the people. One of these programs in Chicago is the People's Medical Care Center, located in the Lawndale ghetto on the West Side. The center is named for Spurgeon "Jake" Winters, a martyred Panther killed by police last year.

The only publicity the center has received came when city authorities attempted to close it a few days after it opened in December, charging numerous building and Board of Health violations.

But the center has remained open, in spite of this harassment, and it regularly treats more than 100 patients every week.

One of the center's volunteers is Mrs. Sylvia Woods, a licensed practical nurse.

"We have ten doctors, twelve nurses, and two registered technicians who officially serve in the Free Medical Center," Mrs. Woods told me. "We also have a large number of interns who come and help regularly, from medical schools around the city."

Part of the center's work includes training community people to perform services wherever possible. "For example," said Mrs. Woods, "we are training some of the young people to do laboratory urinalysis and blood tests, and teams of people from the community are organized to canvass the neighborhood and bring the center to the people. Most of the people in Lawndale are so poor they never go to a doctor until they are practically dying. Our teams take their blood pressure, medical histories, and in general determine if there are people suffering from illness.

"If illness is discovered, whether chronic or just simple ailments, the person is urged to visit the center, where an examination, treatment, and prescription are all free."

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In a typical evening of duty, Mrs. Woods may help to treat 20 or 30 people, some of whom come in after being referred by the survey teams, and many who come after hearing from friends and neighbors about the center.

"The center opens at 6 o'clock every evening," she said, describing a typical nights work. "Last night, when I got to the center, there weren't any patients in yet, so I worked with some Panthers straightening and cleaning up the reception area.

"At about 6:20, our first patients arrived. They were two children, 14 and 12 years old, who needed a routine health examination for school. When I worked for the Joslyn Clinic in Maywood, these examinations cost at least $10. But at the Panther center, they are absolutely free. If the parents happen to be on welfare, I don't know what they did before we had the center, because welfare wouldn't pay for school examinations.

"I took the histories of the two youths, and we did a complete urinalysis and blood test. Then, each was examined thoroughly by a licensed pediatrician. Neither had had DPT (diptheria-tetanus toxoid) shots, so they were administered. Both patients were in generally good health, except that the oldest had a cold. He was given medication, and we made an appointment for him to return. There was, of course, no charge for any of this.

"Next, a 21-year-old woman came in. She was seriously ill and aborting her first pregnancy. She was examined, given some medication for pain, and taken to a hospital that has agreed to take some of our patients.

"Next, we had several more young people who came in for routine examinations, and then a mother brought in a four-month old baby who had a bad cold. The baby was examined by the pediatrician, and throat culture was taken. This baby had been going to the well-baby clinic' operated by the Board of Health, but had not yet received any of the normal shots. After the examination and discussion with the mother, an appointment was made for the baby to return for continued treatment and the shots."

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Among others who came in that evening, Mrs. Woods said, was a young woman who had contracted venereal disease, several other children, and a woman suffering from a "cold" for three months.

"All these people were treated free, no questions asked about 'ability to pay' or anything. On hand to take care of all these people were a pediatrician, a general practioner, two interns, and two nurses."

The center does not stop at treating medical problems. A member of the Black Panther Party is on hand at all times to serve as a "people's advocate." He interviews each patient.

"The people's advocate makes the center more able to deal with the entire range of people's problems," Mrs. Woods said. "After being examined, the patient and his or her parents if a minor discuss any other problems they may have with the representative of the Panthers. The people's advocate will try to find out if the patient has any difficulties at home, such as paying the rent, finding clothes for the family, food, or whether they may be having trouble studying, or in school — almost any kind of problem is relevant.

"Whenever possible, the Panthers will help with the problem, no matter what it is. For example, we discovered that many of the school children, aside from problems like going without breakfast, faced serious strain from the difficulty of finding a place to study or play, safe from the hazards of the street. So we opened up the center to them during the afternoon, before the regular hours, where they can play quietly, or study, paint or do whatever they wish."

Most diseases the center has treated, frequently discovered by the canvass teams and previously unknown to the patient, are bronchial ailments, heart disease, diabetes, apparent mental retardation, and high blood pressure.

The success of the Spurgeon "Jake" Winters People's Medical Care Center has inspired similar efforts by other organizations, particularly those in the "rainbow coalition" with the Panthers. Both the Young Lords and the Young Patriots have opened centers, although they are not yet operating on as full a schedule as the Panthers.

Black Panther

Ann Campbell, 19, and Ralph Bostick, 18, are health cadres of the Black Panther Party.

Black Panther

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S CLINICS

SEIZE THE TIME
PANTHERS

SPURGEON 'JAKE' WINTERS
FREE MEDICAL CARE
CENTERS-1 & 2

SEND DONATIONS TO:
FREE PEOPLE'S MEDICAL
CARE CENTER
c o Illinois Chapter, B.P.P.
2350 W. Madison
Chicago, Illinois - 243-8276

The artist today, indeed, has a responsibility both to himself and to his period.

He should hold up a mirror to his generation, to show with compassion and truthfulness what a distorted society does to people. In his presentation there must be no false idealization or wishful thinking. In his view of what is, the artist, of course, will be involved according to his understanding of the forces active on people, of the past and the developing present. The main ingredient must be honesty and absorption in the problems of human beings.

Nor should our relation to the past, in this critical time, be forgotten.

A true mark of great art is that it is life-assertive.

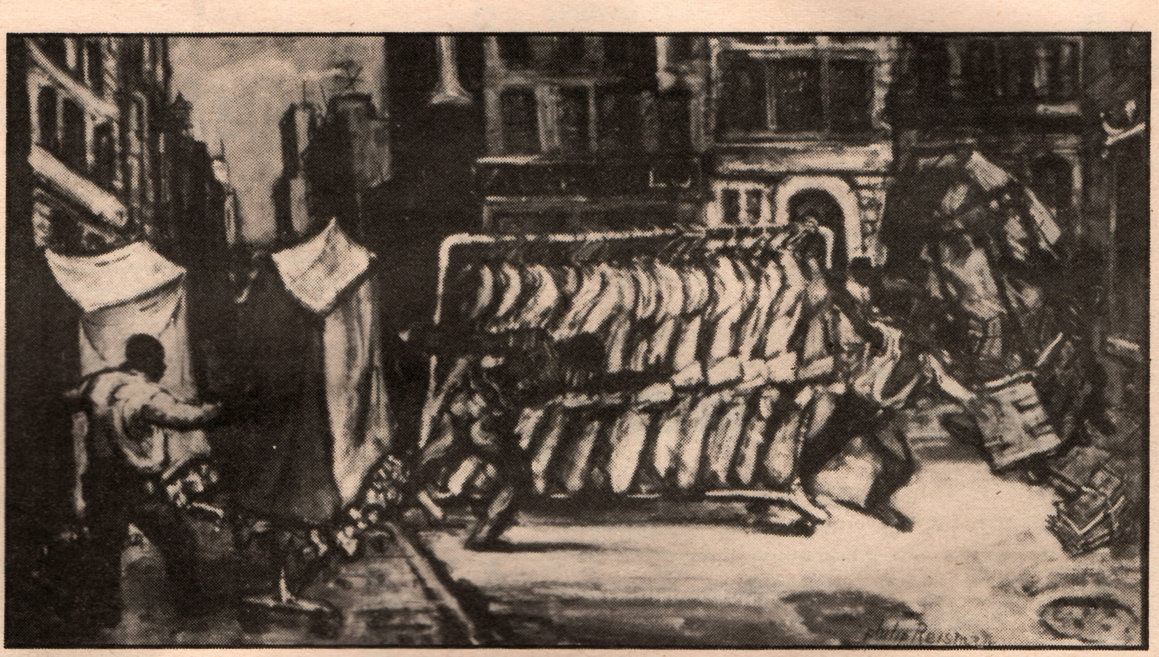
A piece of stone or bronze, whether Egyptian, Greek or Hindu, radiates energy and positive values till the material itself disintegrates. This is true of great works in all the plastic arts. This is our great cultural reservoir to be protected and studied.

The practice of art as a social act becomes more difficult in times such as these, when art has become big business. Now mutual funds in art, capitalized in many dollars, are on the horizon, and all the forces of promotion and manipulation of art and art personalities, may come into play, both to control the art market and the direction of the art itself as a cultural force. The danger cannot be overstated.

Temptations, pitfalls and great challenges confront the artist in America today.

Philip Reisman

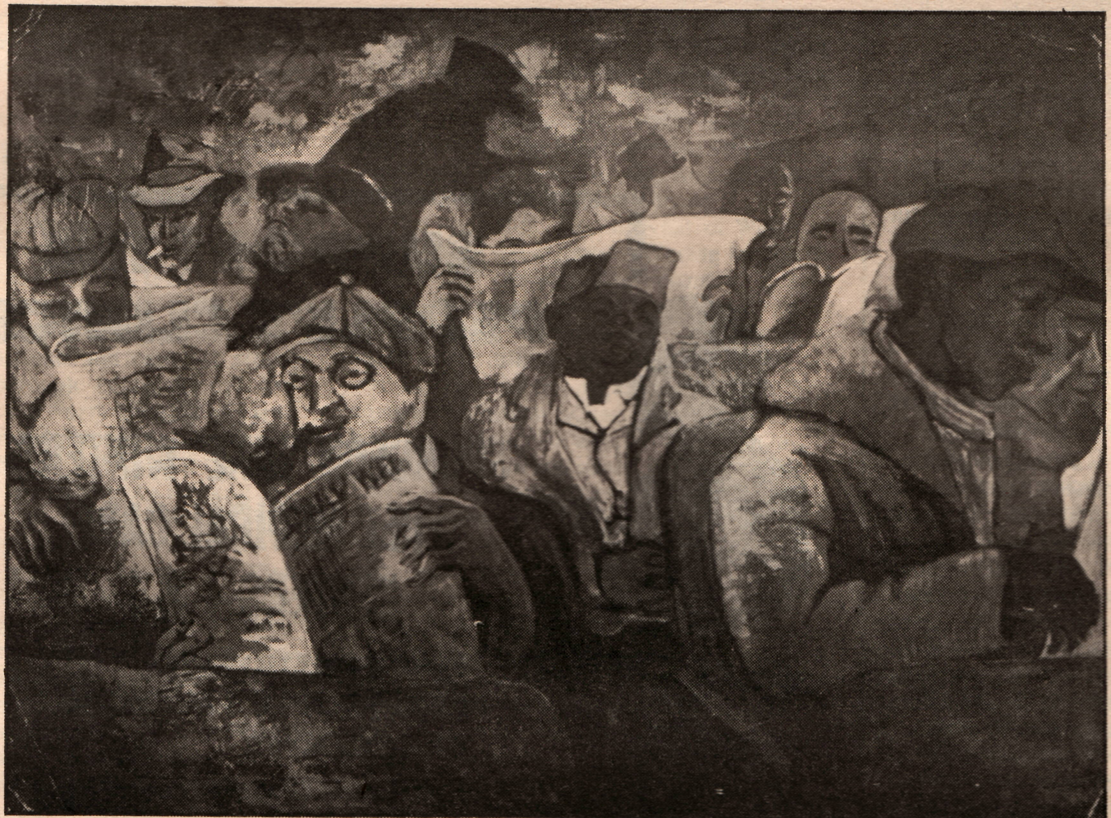
PHILIP REISMAN


THE CROSSING

How can artists serve the people?

This is the second part of a World Magazine symposium on artists and the people.

EARLY MORNING TRAIN



The question "How can artists serve the people?" assumes that arists are not performing this function, and this is, no doubt, partly true.

The nature of his patronage, known and unknown, is a determining factor. What is its taste? To what extent is it influenced by the far-out, non-figurative, alienative, anti-traditional concepts and functions of art? The artist in our present day society thinks of himself and acts very much as an individual.

During the depression and the years after, as the result of the dynamic events of that period, as others organized for their protection and advancement, artists did likewise with the result that their involvement in life reflected itself in their art. Today there is no comparable mass involvement by artists that would have that kind of repercussion.

That larger movement of which the artists were part has not yet taken place.

Surely, today, there are artists of great depth and distinction, producing beautiful, meaningful work. They are a small minority, however.

"To serve the people" requires the development of a patronage that actively supports a humanistic tradition in art, one that believes in involvement, not escape. One that believes that the arts should be an important part of a civilized society, not just a decoration.

Harry Gottlieb

HARRY GOTTLIEB

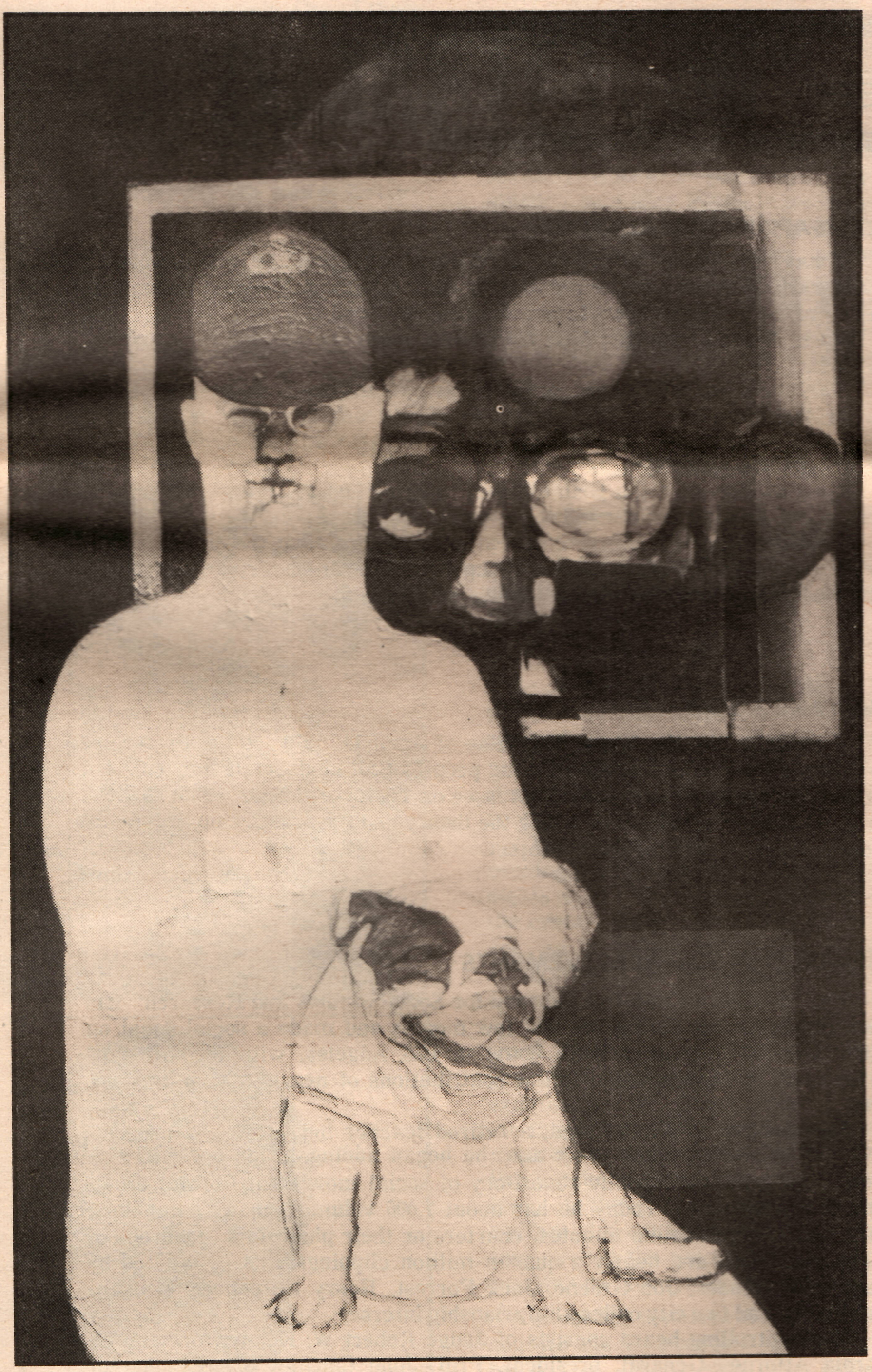
Art serves in as many ways as poetry does, as music does. Its duty is to give, through its unique language, a rich experience.

Many are satisfied today with art that offers too little: a message that is inadequately realized *as art;* or, on the other hand, art that is beautiful only in the sense of interior decoration. Art has magic, is profound. It cannot be produced by formula.

The *Big Daddy* series of works I have been involved with for the past two years, is the result of my background, my training, and my political and social convictions. It helps me clarify my relationship with the world I live in. It helps me to know myself and my feelings about my country, my fellow Americans and their feelings about themselves and their country, as they see it. I care about the war in Vietnam and the indifference of this government to the needs of its own people. Not to know is a very bad thing. Not to care is even worse. *Big Daddy* comes in many guises. We must see him as he is, strip him bare.

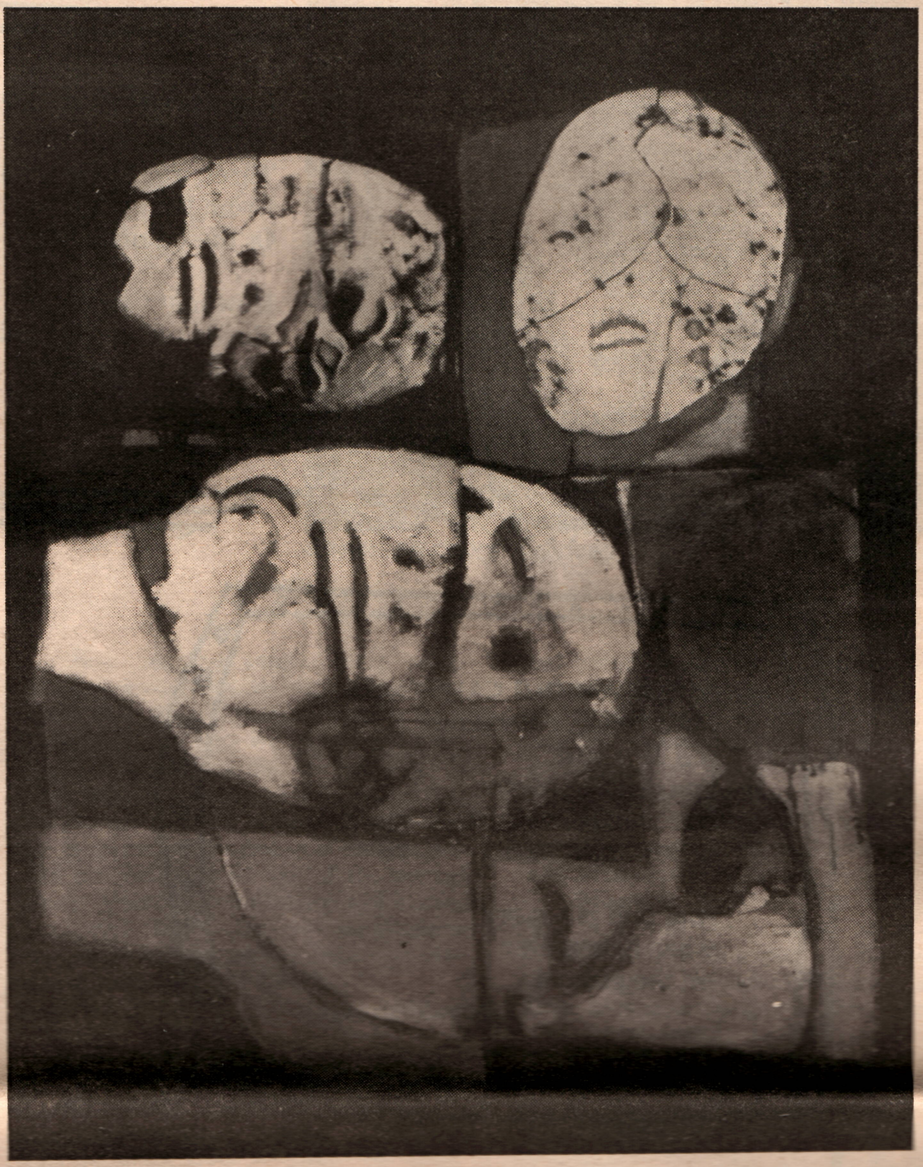
May Stevens

MAY STEVENS



BIG DADDY

NAPALM ELEGY (series)



While I take it for granted that I can speak in one language only, the language of formal excitement and painterly sensitivity, the real aim is mood. An absolute silence, but on the verge of turbulence. An arrested order, but tense and precarious, almost falling apart.

For the language to be powerful it must be terse, classical and expressionist at the same time and when elegiac — also an outcry. Thus my present work, the Napalm Elegy series, is such an outcry — against the war in Vietnam. The specificity may be somewhere between Guernica and Munch's Dance of Death, certainly far removed from Goya's the Shooting of the Third of May. Yes, it could be called a "social comment," but much closer to Bergman of the "Seventh Seal" than to Rossellini of "Open City."

I dislike the concept of art "serving." It is not a revolutionary concept but a remnant of feudalism. O'Casey, Brecht, Mayakovski, Nexo, Picasso, MacDiarmid are revolutionary and deeply personal at the same time. They had no need to determine theoretically how to serve, their humanism grew out of an inner necessity, of an emotional commitment to the truth, a truth whose larger aspects are called content and the more intricate ones — form. Art marches with revolutionary humanity: it is not the revolution's ladies auxiliary.

Malraux said about Goya: "It matters little whether the artist is trying to possess the heavens or the night, provided both are deep enough". The depth is as manifold as human experience: the revolutionary elan in the wonderful posters from today's Cuba; the anguish in Ben Shahn's Sacco and Vanzetti series; the Night sky in Albert Pinkham Ryder; the glow of mystery in Rothko's paintings.

Rudolf Baranik

RUDOLF BARANIK

Poems

THE CATERPILLER
Can we believe
that the caterpiller
got bored with itself?

and then butterfly here
and butterfly there
and butterfly
all over the place
in color mind you.

I certainly would doubt
that.
Yes, I would too.

David Ferrucci

FOR ALL OF US, A QUESTION:
On that day our Navy rescued
Three weary astronauts
From the gentle swells
Of the Pacific Ocean —

How many dead men,
Hands trussed behind,
Floated on the silent mirror
Of the Mekong River?

Clay Homer

SPRING 1970
Again, longer warm days —
As Earth turns.
Life rolls loving in the new bright sky,
Life in the night returns its treasures
To the cooling Earth.

A parade of Caesars climbs our backs
On scurrying lies instead of legs.

We celebrate each turn of Earth
as best we may —
Eat, sleep, hope, work, love —
Between being born or hungry or dying.

Again, longer warm days —
As Earth turns we say
LET THERE BE PEACE!
Who needs bombs?

Clay Homer

A STORY ABOUT CATERPILLER
Caterpiller, caterpiller
fell off a leaf
and hit the ground.
Guess it got so mad
it flew right back.

And that is a story
when caterpiller
hit the ground.

David Ferrucci

Davidow

Continued from page 3

was 10-11 hours). And it mobilized all classes around the demand for extension of democratic rights. As a result of the mass influence of the democratic front, the Communist Party of Indo-China was able, for the first time, to work in conditions of semi-legality. Until then it was forced to operate completely underground. The party's influence spread widely from 1936-39.

But the situation sharply changed when, with the invasion of Poland (September 1939), World War II broke out. Again the party had to go fully underground. It raised the slogan for a united front against imperialism and started the preparatory work for rallying the people for a national liberation revolution. The Democratic Front of Indo-China Against Imperialism was formed in 1940.

Ho Chi Minh returned from China to Indo-China in 1941 to give direct leadership in this difficult and complex situation. After thorough evaluation of the new situation, the Party adopted its strategic line of struggle for the revolution.

On Ho Chi Minh's initiative in 1941, the Party shifted its course from forming the Democratic Front of Indo-China to the Front for Independence of Vietnam — or, as it became popularly known, the Viet Minh Front. The shift, hardly just a name change, was the result of Ho's probing analysis of the concrete situation and the conclusion that the key now was to gain independence for Vietnam.

With the collaboration of the Petain Quislings, the Japanese imperialists entered the scene and together with the French instituted a regime of intense exploitation and repression. The Japanese imposed a severe tax program which struck hard at Vietnamese landlords and well-to-do peasants, as well as the mass of workers and peasants. Quong, who was a leader in the struggles of those days, recalled: "Even big landlords urged their sons to join the Viet Minh and offered to buy them rifles to fight the French and Japanese."

Thus, to broaden the democratic front, the Party again temporarily put aside its main slogan on the land question, "land to the tillers," and raised instead the demand for a reduction in rents. This received mass support and at the same time made it possible to include all sections of the population in the National Liberation Front. Thus a firm, broad base was created upon which the Vietnam Workers Party could prepare for the August 1946 revolution that liberated Vietnam.

The year 1945, the last year of World War II, was one of great suffering for the Vietnamese people. The country was drained and ruined by Japan and its French allies. A famine took the lives of more than 2 million. The Viet Minh Front, led by the Party, organized "hunger" movements which rallied masses of peasants in a tax strike and stormed the Japanese-held warehouses that were stacked with rice. Rice was distributed by the Front to the people. Thus, with the defeat of Hitlerites in the West and Japanese imperialists in the East, the situation was ripe for revolution. The Party recognized that swift action was decisive to take advantage of the extremely favorable situation. A general uprising seized power in 7 days — August 19 in the North, August 23 in the Central areas, and August 25 in the South. On September 2, President Ho Chi Minh read the Declaration of Independence in Hanoi (it includes a paragraph from our own Declaration of Independence) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born.

MAIL SLOT

NO "GAP" IN POSTAL STRIKE

I was very happy to see the excellent story about the postal workers by Margrit Pittman and the remarks of Judy Edelman, National Labor Secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League (April 11).

But it seems to me that Miss Edelman's comment was too brief and too limited.

The black and white unity in the strike was magnificent and very significant. But there was another element which, it seems to me, young workers, and older workers also, should have noticed, and that was the wonderful unity of younger and older workers.

As a supporter of the postal strike, I did not see that "generation gap" we are told divides younger and older workers. I did see unity.

Perhaps there is a lesson to be learned from this: that the unity of workers in struggle for common demands supersedes differences on other matters and clears the way for better and lasting understanding.

John T. Wharton
New York City

WE TAKE A BOW. . .

I congratulate the **World Magazine** of April 11, 1970 for the marvelous writings on the tactics of the working people of all lands, including our own, in their struggles for freedom. That issue on Terrorism! Who? What? When? is chock full of facts besides giving the theory and the practice up to contemporary times on this important subject.

Margaret Cowl
New York, N.Y.

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

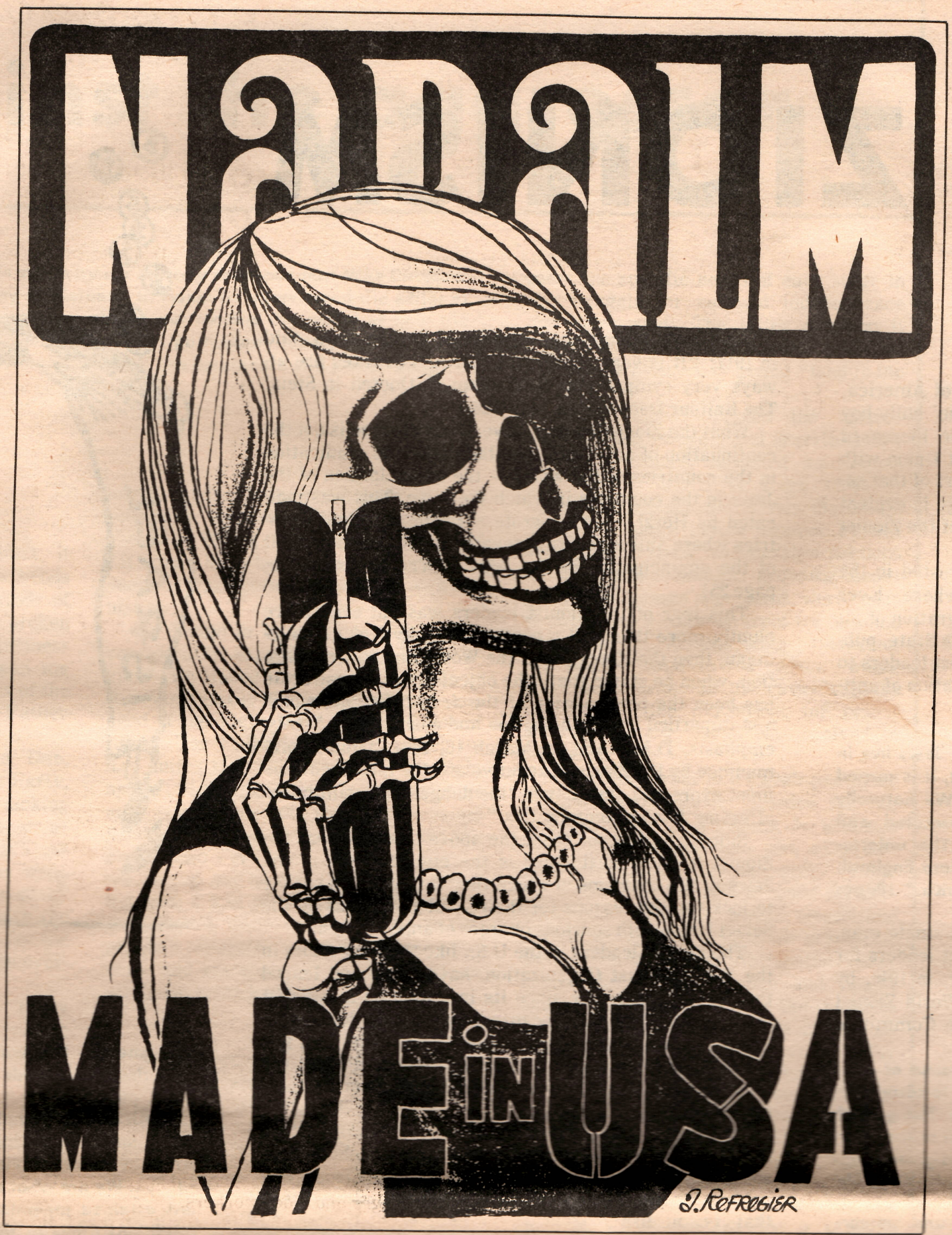
The "Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research" has been mushrooming during the last few months and made a social debut on April 25th, at a large private home in Los Angeles, with formation of Friends of The Library and initial contributions of nearly a thousand dollars.

The director is Emil Freed, a retired teacher long active in progressive circles. About eight years ago, he began adding to his personal collection for building a public repository of social movement literature outside the universities. Today he has about 7,000 volumes, many pamphlets, periodicals, organization minutes, charters or their photostats, hundreds of tapes and films, and nearly a quarter-million clippings, and is assisted by August Maymudes, Jon Greene, Jack Forrest, Henry Ehrenberg, Leonard Haimovitz, and two city college librarianship internes.

The controlling board consists of Judge Robert W. Kenny, former California Attorney General, president, Prof. John Caughey and Dr. Arthur Carstens of UCLA, the Rev. J. Stuart Innerst, Kenneth Rottger, and Carlton Moss, with Mr. Freed. Building plans are still in a dream stage but with progress ever more promising.

Initiating Friends are Harold E. Chandler, Dorothy Eletz, Jack Forrest, Dorothy and Robert Kahan, John Howard Lawson, Dinah Mellon, Earl Robinson, Pauline Schindler, Fred Steinmetz, Dr. H.C. Steinmetz, and Peter Tagger. Materials are now at 1510 West 7th Street, Los Angeles 17, and in eight garages, but scholars in fifty universities and colleges are already borrowing materials, and cooperation is growing with public and private libraries. Brochures and a catalog of extras is available on request. The staff would appreciate contributions from basements and attics.

H.C. St.
Los Angeles



Anton Refregier: Artist for peace

Artist Anton Refregier has been awarded two Soviet honors this spring. One was a gold medal of the Soviet Peace Committee for his efforts on behalf of peace; the other, a prize won at an international exhibit held in Moscow last fall under the title "Satire in the Struggle for Peace." The poster on this page was among Refregier's works exhibited.

Presentations of the awards were made by Valerian Nesterov, counselor of the Soviet embassy, at a ceremony at the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship on April 21. Refregier's acceptance speech is printed below.

By ANTON REFREGIER

Today, the 21st of April, is but one day away from the 100th birthday of Lenin — the man of peace. It was the Bolsheviks, led by him in 1917, who raised the slogan of peace, for ending the bloody imperialist war.

Consistently for the past 50 years, the Soviet Union has worked to secure world peace and co-existence.

As I receive, today, this award by the Soviet Peace Committee, a peoples organization of the Soviet Union, I feel a deep honor and gratitude. This is a great moment in my life, and I shall cherish it. This recognition of my work, and my dedication to the cause of world peace, is a great incentive.

I like to think that some day, and perhaps in the not too distant future, the people of the United States, reaching a higher level of political and social awareness and power, will establish our own peace awards, named after some of our great men and women. And so, musicians will give the Paul Robeson Peace Award, and scholars the DuBois Award, and there will be awards of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Rockwell Kent, Eugene Debs, and Martin Luther King.

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The artist looks at life critically. He paints that which he finds in life beautiful. He paints with love and compassion. Or he turns to social satire — in drawings and cartoons, making comments on the ugliness of life, and the destructive forces in his society. In my way, and to the best of my capacity, I have worked in both directions. And it is the series of drawings against the American aggression in Vietnam that has been recognized.

I long ago decided to devote my work to the service of man's struggle. And by this dedication I have gained strength and encouragement.

I come from the great progressive tradition of the United States: The magazine "New Masses," the John Reed Club, the Artists' Union, the American Artists' Congress (organized against war and fascism.) I have been inspired by a long list of progressive, humanist and revolutionary artists, many of them my close friends — Bob Minor, Bill Gropper, Fred Ellis, Phillip Evergood, Raphael Soyer — to name but a few.

I have been equally inspired by the great Soviet films, by its graphics and posters. And I have learned much from Orozco, Rivera, and Siquieros.

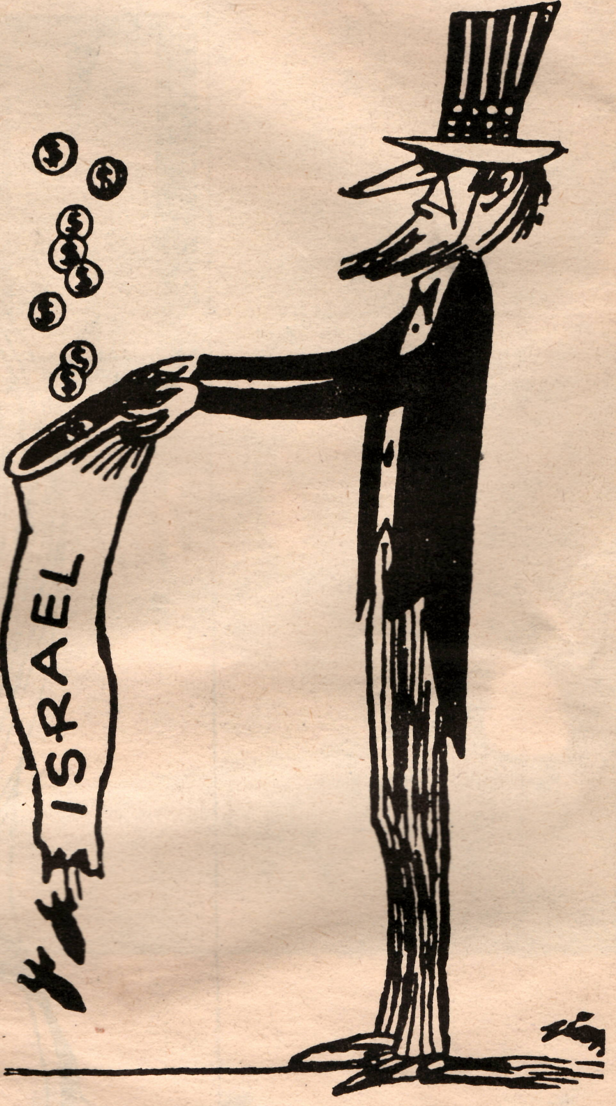
I like to think that some day the people of our earth will melt the metal of the machines of war and destruction. And the artists will use this to create beautiful monuments to the heroes of man's struggle for peace. I like to think that some day peace will be the natural way of life on our planet, and that no man shall exploit his fellow man.

I am joined with those working for this future.

And while we can think of the good life and the beauty the future holds for us, we need to be sustained and encouraged in our daily lives by our fellow man. These are precious and indispensable moments, and we are fortunate to have them.

Today I am rich with this experience by the honor I receive. I am told: "You are OK. You have done your share, and done it well." And I reply: "Thank you. I feel stronger than ever before. And I am going on."

ZIONISM



Stanislaw Ziarnkowski in the Warsaw *Szpilki*

By DANIEL MASON

The leaders of the Zionist Organization of America, their satellites and their allies, the bully-boy stormtrooper Jewish Defense League have increased their attacks in recent months on the Soviet Union with the faked charge of anti-Semitism on the part of that socialist country. The hypocrisy of that charge is evident from even a cursory reading of the history of the Zionist movement.

Its leaders have never been really interested in the struggle to eradicate anti-Semitism anywhere. Ever since Theodore Herzl first proposed the migration of all Jews to a "national home" in his **The Jewish State,** published in 1896, the stock in trade of the Zionist leaders to achieve their objective has been the continuation of anti-Semitism throughout the world.

In **The Jewish State,** Herzl wrote:

" **...The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist, it is carried by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution... The unfortunate Jews are now carrying anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America." (Pages 14-15)**

That this was not the aberration of one single man, Herzl, but the conscious approach of Zionist leaders for all time was made clear fifty years later, in 1946, by Chaim Weizmann, then president of the World Zionist Organization. He told the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine:

"I believe that the one fundamental cause of anti-Semitism... is that the Jew exists. We seem to carry anti-Semitism in our knapsacks wherever we go. The growth and intensity of anti-Semitism is proportional to the number of Jews or to the density of the Jews in a given country." (Published in Jewish Agency for Palestine, **The Jewish Case,** page 7).

It can be shown that the aim of Herzl and his successors has always been to get the cooperation of the anti-Semites to force mass migrations of the Jews in their own countries to a "national home" which the anti-Semites would provide for the Zionists. Herzl wrote:

"I imagine that governments will, either voluntarily or under pressure from the anti-Semites, pay certain attention to this scheme; and they may perhaps actually receive it here and there with... sympathy... " (The Jewish State, page 74).

As Claude Montefiore, a leader of British Jews, said in 1917: "It is very significant that anti-Semites are always very sympathetic to Zionism." (Quoted in Stein, **The Balfour Declaration,** page 526.)

What the Zionist leaders have always feared is not the continuation of anti-Semitism, but rather its eradication in the countries of the world — the emancipation of the Jews in the countries in which they live. This was indicated by Herzl when he wrote: "In the principal countries where anti-Semitism prevails, it does so as a result of the emancipation of the Jews... (The Jewish State, page 25).

This fear of the Zionist leaders was put even more bluntly more than half a century later by Nahum Goldmann, then the President of the World Zionist Organization, when he stated that "the object of the Jewish State has been the preservation of the Jewish People, which was imperiled by **emancipation and assimilation."** (My emphasis, D.M.) And on March 16, 1964, a joint communique by the Zionist Executive and the Israeli government expressed alarm over "the dangers of assimilation affecting Jewish communities."

Since it is obvious from the above evidence that the Zionist leaders' basic fear is the emancipation of the Jews in the countries in which they live, one has not far to look for the reasons for their virulent attacks on the Soviet Union with spurious charges of anti-Semitism.

The Zionist leaders in the U.S., like their superiors in the World Zionist Organization, have hated and feared the Soviet Union ever since its inception as a socialist state in 1917. This was because they realized that socialism as a state power would eradicate anti-Semitism and solve the Jewish question, thereby removing from the Zionists one of the largest sources of manpower for their own aims.

The founders of Zionism and their successors in the leadership of this movement have always fought against socialism and they have always served as agents and colonizers for imperialism. Their ideology has always been that of capitalism.

This is only natural because of the class composition of the leaders of the Zionist movement from its very beginning. As a matter of fact, the theory and objectives of Zionism sprang out of the frustrated aspirations of the Jewish middle class which developed in the ghettos of Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century. Herzl himself made this clear when he wrote:

" **...we had, curiously enough, developed while in the ghetto into a bourgeois people, and we stepped out of it (the ghetto - D.M.) only to enter into fierce competition with the (non-Jewish - D.M.) middle classes.** (The Jewish State, page 26.)

Refugees from Europe's displaced persons' camps landing in Tel Aviv immediately after the declaration of the new state of Israel.

With fine contempt and total disregard for the exploitation suffered by the Jewish masses, Herzl could write from the bourgeois viewpoint.:

" **... We are what the ghetto made us. We have doubtless attained preeminence in finance, because medieval conditions drove us to it. The same process is now being repeated. We are again being forced into finance, now the stock exchange, by being kept out of all other branches of economic activity... At the same time we continue to produce an abundance of mediocre intellects which finds no outlet, and this endangers our social position as much as does our increasing wealth. Educated Jews without means are now fast becoming Socialists. Hence we are certain to suffer very severely in the struggle between classes, because we stand in the most exposed position in the camps of both Socialists and capitalists."** (The Jewish State, page 23.)

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While Herzl presents a confused picture of the historical development of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe and ignores completely the fact that most of the Jews there were artisans, peddlers, and workers, it is clear what concerned Herzl and Zionist leaders ever since was not the persecution of Jews as Jews. Many Jews in Eastern Europe and elsewhere may have seen in the Zionist aim of a Jewish state an escape from oppression and exploitation as members of the lower middle and working class, but for the Zionist leaders the conception of the Jewish state was one in which they could develop as a capitalist class and exploit their own working people.

The present attacks on the Soviet Union by the Zionist leaders in the U.S. and elsewhere must be seen therefore in the long-rooted class antagonism to socialism beginning with Herzl himself.

In September, 1897, he wrote a letter — which he never sent — to Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, in which he said:

"If the German Jews emigrate, this will cause the return of German-American emigrants. In this way you will gain unadulterated nationals, you prevent a collapse which might be difficult to limit, *you weaken socialism* (my emphasis - D.M.), to which the persecuted Jews have turned because other parties have expelled them and you gain time to solve the social question."

On September 29, 1898, Herzl wrote in his diary: "The French Jews are obviously beyond salvation... They are seeking protection among the Socialists and disruption of the present bourgeois order." (Tagebuecher, Vol. II, page 127.)

On May 19, 1903, he sent a letter to Von Plehve, the Russian Minister of Interior, attacking the revolutionary

Sohar-m-Masck, 6 years old, was a victim of Israeli napalm in the war in June 1967.

Japan Press

movement in that country and offering Zionism as an instrument for curbing its influence among the Jewish youth of Russia (Tagebuecher, Vol. III, pages 431-33.)

Thus we see that one of the reasons for the present and past attacks on the Soviet Union lies in the anti-socialist, class antagonism of the Zionist leaders from the very beginning of that movement.

The other reason is the fact that the aims of the Zionist leaders have always coincided with imperialist colonial aims which are now opposed by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. This was first made clear by Herzl, when he declared:

> **"We should there (Palestine - D.M.) form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism."** (The Jewish State, Page 30.)

Herzl and the Zionist leaders who succeeded him made offers to all the imperialist powers to become their agents. The first to receive their bid was Germany. In an 1897 entry in his diary, Herzl describes an interview with the Grand Duke of Baden, of Germany's ruling class, in which he notes:

> **"I particularly drew attention to the fact that with the Jews there will come to the Orient *German influence* (my emphasis-D.M.)" (Tagebuecher,** Vol. V, page 109).

The Zionist leaders carred on negotiations with the German ruling class from that time on through World War I, offering the services of their movement to Germany for its inter-imperialist struggle against Britain for control of the Near and Middle East.

At the same time, other Zionist leaders offered their services to British imperialism. In October, 1902, they began to negotiate with the British government for a section of the Sinai Peninsula for settlement by Jews. The British rejected that proposal, but proposed in 1903 a portion of Uganda for colonization by Jews. Herzl was eager to accept this proposal, but it was dropped after his death.

When this willingness to accept Uganda is conjoined with the original alternatives of Argentina and Palestine as locations for the Jewish state (The Jewish State, page 30), it becomes clear that the middle-class Zionist leaders were not concerned about restoring the ancient Hebraic homeland but rather were seeking a place anywhere they could exert their economic and political class power.

The really serious negotiations with British imperialism began after the move to England in 1904 by Chaim Weizmann, a middle-class immigrant of Russian origin. The efforts of the Zionist leaders in Britain met with failure until the middle of World War I, when the British imperialist ruling class was hunting desperately for allies everywhere in their conflict with German imperialism. The result was the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, which asserted:

> **"His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."**

In the negotiations that led to the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist leaders engaged in a tremendous bluff, claiming they represented the Jews throughout the world, and would therefore be able to deliver their support to British imperialism in World War I. Weizmann confessed this ten years later:

> **"The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was built on air, and a foundation had to be laid for it through years of exacting work; every day and every hour of these last ten years, when opening the newspapers, I thought: Whence will the next blow come? I trembled lest the British Government would call me and ask: 'Tell us, what is this Zionist Organization? Where are they, your Zionists?' For these people think in different terms from ours. The Jews, they knew, were against us; we stood alone on a little island, a tiny group of Jews with a foreign past."** (Address by Dr. Weizmann at Czernowitz, Romania, Dec. 12, 1917, included in Chaim Weizmann: Tribute in Honor of His Seventieth Birthday, 1945.)

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The Balfour Declaration, as it finally appeared, was not what the Zionist leaders had hoped for. Weizmann called it a "recession." They did not get full recognition as the leaders of the world Jewry or a firm commitment to a completely Jewish state. The pressures of the anti-Zionist Jews in Britain, who asserted that the Zionists did not represent the Jewish people, had forced the "recession."

For the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist leaders pledged to mobilize the Jewish people everywhere to do British imperialism's bidding. As W.T. Mailison writes:

> **"... The negotiating history of the Declaration demonstrates that Dr. Weizmann and the other Zionist negotiators promised to the British Government, whether expressly or impliedly, the political support of the alleged Zionist constituency of Jews in many states in return for the political promises clause of the Declaration."** (The Zionist-Israel Juridical Claims, etc. In George Washington Law Review, Vol. 32, No. 5, June, 1964.)

But if the middleclass Zionist leaders, generals without armies, ever really believed that the British ruling class would give them their state, they were soon disabused of the notion. Once World War I had ended, with German imperialism temporarily smashed, and British imperialism had established its hegemony over the Near and Middle East, it refused "to use (its) best endeavors" for the Zionist leaders' cause. The British ruling class interfered with Jewish immigration into Palestine; it intrigued with its agents in the various Arab regimes against the Jews.

But the Zionist leaders refused to denounce the British imperialists for their perfidy. Instead they sought to shift the blame to the long-suffering Arab masses.

The dependence of the middle-class Zionist leaders upon British imperialism for the realization of their aims proved a weak reed. The whole record of the Zionist leaders is one of failure to achieve their objectives. They were never able to mobilize the masses of Jews in the various countries of the world behind them. And the imperialist powers, in their struggle for control of the Near and Middle East, used the Zionist leaders only for the purpose of creating dissension between the masses of Palestinian Jews and the Arabs to divert all of them from the task of liberation from colonialists.

Theodor Herzl

As a matter of fact, the state of Israel was not created through the efforts of the Zionist leaders, but rather as the result of the genocidal tragedy perpetrated by the Nazis, the refusal of the imperialist powers to accept into their borders the Jewish survivors of the Hitlerian pogroms after World War II and the humanitarian impulse of the Soviet Union, which was long resisted by the U.S. imperialists and their allies in the United Nations.

One might have expected, therefore, that the Zionist leaders would have turned to the Soviet Union after World War II. Instead, in consonance with their class character, they became the agents of U.S. capitalism, which had become the dominant imperialist power after World War II.

Wall Street and Washington had been interested in the exploitation of the Near and Middle East ever since the beginning of the twentieth century. It found itself in conflict with British imperialism, which had already moved in. But it was not until after World War I, when the U.S. had become a powerful imperialist state that Washington began to assert itself there.

In 1919, President Woodrow Wilson sent a private commission to Palestine, which, upon its return, recommended that the state of United Syria be set up, including Lebanon and Palestine, under control by the U.S., not Britain.

But one of the advisers to that commission was looking much further into the future for U.S. imperialism. William Yale, who once was a representative of Standard Oil in the Middle East, recommended that **"Palestine should be separated from Syria and constituted as a National Home for the Jewish People under Great Britain... Furthermore, a Jewish State will inevitably fall under the control of American Jews who will work out along Jewish lines American ideals and American civilization. A Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will develop into an outpost in the Orient."** (The Realities of American-Palestine Relations, pages 250-51.)

Thus did U.S. imperialism see the future in Palestine — American Jews, they hoped, would become the pawns for the penetration of the Middle East by U.S. imperialism.

Lake Baikal

so water should run clean

By IGOR LOBANOV

MOSCOW

Lake Baikal, in the heart of Siberia, is more than 30 million years old. Its origin is one of the unsolved mysteries of science. Scientists say that to reveal the secret of Baikal's birth means learning the history of Siberia, and even of the whole Asian mainland. The formation of the lake is not complete to this day: its shape is changing and its bottom is sinking.

The Baikal fissure goes down into the ancient crystalline rocks to a depth of 5,712 feet. The lake bed itself lies 3,940 feet below sea level. It is nearly as deep as an ocean and stretches for 395 miles by 15 to 49 miles. The slopes of the mountains ringing Baikal on all sides are covered with beautiful pine and cedar forests. More than 330 small rivers empty into Baikal and only one—the Angara—flows out of it, taking its waters through the Yenisei to the distant Arctic Ocean.

Baikal is famous for its crystal pure fresh water. There is so much of it here (more than 30 trillion cubic yards — 20% of all the world's fresh water supplies!) that all river beds of the world would take 230 days to empty the huge bowl of Baikal. It can accommodate the water of all the five American Great Lakes.

Baikal's flora and fauna contain some 1,800 animal and plant species; three-fourths of these are found nowhere else. This is a genuine paleontological museum with live exhibits: the lake contains fishes whose forefathers appeared in the first years of existence. The Baikal taiga abounds in elk, roe, musk deer, wild boar and sable. The delta of the river Selenga has colonies of wildfowl.

It seemed as though nothing would threaten this natural marvel until plans were drawn up to build on its shores the Baikal pulp mill and the Selenga pulp and paperboard plant. The designers were attracted to Baikal primarily by its pure water, which is needed for the manufacture of high-strength cord pulp. The manufacturers were also attracted by plentiful supplies of timber around the lake. The plans, however, evoked great concern among the Soviet public for the future of the lake.

True, in the drafting stage the specialists from the very beginning envisaged an effective treatment of industrial waste. And although the construction of purification installations was to add considerably to the building costs of the entire plant and also to production costs, the state agreed to incur the expenses to protect Baikal from pollution. At the moment the purification installations at the Baikal pulp mill cover an area much larger than that under all the basic and auxiliary production set-ups.

Three-stage treatment was envisaged — chemical, mechanical and biological, with final sand filtering. This method had an efficiency of 97%. The plans for these purification installations appeared to be the most effective in the USSR, and the Baikal experience was to be spread to the whole country.

But in spite of the specialists' assurances, public concern was not dispelled. The case for Baikal was taken up by the Soviet newspapers Isvestia, Komsomolskaya Pravda, Literaturnaya Gazeta, Sovetskaya Rossiya, local press and noted Soviet scientists and men of culture. The Baikal problem was even examined by the economic commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

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It is well-known that supplies of pure fresh water are running short. In his message to Congress in 1961, President John Kennedy warned that by 1970 the country would have an acute shortage of fresh water. In the Soviet Union this problem has not arisen as yet, but it does not mean that it may be taken off the agenda.

Soviet scientists described in detail what may happen to the basin of Baikal if the lake's natural resources are utilized without proper planning. A conference of the USSR Geographical Society and a number of the Soviet Academy's institutes, in March 1962, concluded that wood cutting near Baikal, where mountains have a top soil thickness of no more than 6 to 8 inches, will cause destruction and erosion; deforestation will lead to the formation of mud streams and landslides; river drive will pollute the rivers with bark and sinkers and upset spawning grounds of valuable fish species, including the famed Baikal omul, and the discharge of industrial sewage will pollute a zone along the southern and eastern shores of the lake.

The disappearance of forests on Baikal's mountain slopes may also lead to the lake disappearing from the face of the earth altogether or becoming transformed into a marsh, in the same way that 12 water reservoirs in the southwest of the USA vanished in the course of 15 years as a result of forest-clearing.

The scientific and practical significance of the lake's protection against pollution is indisputable. Baikal is uniquely nature's well of fresh water. If it is polluted, then the purification of its waters, when needed, will require an expenditure of 500 to 700 million rubles annually.

The State Committee for Construction of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation examined a master plan for the utilization of the natural resources of Baikal and its basin. It defines lines of economic development over an area of 98,000 square kilometers with a population of some 900,000 people. The main idea of the plan is not only the possibility, but also the advisability of developing industry here, fully retaining nature and the unique stock of fresh water.

The plan provides for a further development of the production of coal, tungsten and molybdenum as well as power, engineering and metal-working, with textile, footwear, garments and knitted goods factories to be built. A coal pit, with a capacity of 2,400,000 tons of coal a year, is also planned. Other heavy industry facilities are also contemplated.

A sensible utilization of natural resources requires that everything be taken into account and calculated "in order to preserve the sources of our raw materials," said Lenin. "We must see to it that scientific and technical rules be fulfilled and observed. For example, if it is a question of a wood concession, provision must be made for a correct forestry practice to be carried out." There have been instances in the Soviet Union when industrial managers who ignore the rules of nature's use were removed from jobs and even put on trial.

Legislation in the USSR and the Union Republics in the field of public health protection say that "the carrying out of sanitary-hygienic and sanitary-anti-epidemic measures aimed at the liquidation and prevention of pollution of the environment... is the duty of all state organs and enterprises, institutions and organizations, collective farms, trade unions and other public organizations." A new code bans enterprises that have not provided for the purification of their discharges. Sanitary bodies in such cases are given the right to close or temporarily suspend the exploitation of operating enterprises.

The Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation recognized as necessary the drafting of comprehensive plans for nature's protection as component parts of five-year and one-year state plans for economic development. Plans for local protection of nature will be examined together with national economic ones.

In 1969 the USSR Council of Ministers resolved to use and protect the natural resources of Baikal and its basin. A water-protecting zone of the lake has been established within the boundaries of its discharge area with a special wood-cutting regimen that does not upset water discharge. It has been decided to introduce special rules for protecting the waters of Baikal and its environment. Some tree felling has been prohibited. Aerial skidding of timber will be used in forest exploitation, so as not to mar the soil cover. Instructions have been given to clean the Baikal rivers of sunken wood.

Land allocation for the construction of enterprises with harmful industrial effluents has been forbidden. But being constructed are tourist bases, holiday hotels, rest homes, sanatoriums, sport and hunting centers, and a state nature preserve on the coastal mountain ridges.

Special to World Magazine from Novosti Press Agency

Lake Baikal

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Support Guardian

Carl Bloice missed the mark in his Good and Welfare column, "Morality play or cannibalism."

The main thing about the situation facing the Guardian is this. The Guardian is one of the most important independent left newspapers in the United States. Just at the time when it is moving away from ultraleftism, towards a Marxist position, it has been physically attacked by ultra-leftists and anarchists who are trying to destroy it.

The politics of the attack on the Guardian are an attack on this Marxist direction. In fact, the specific reason for the attack was the Guardian's excellent editorial against terrorism, and its campaign against the politics of the Weatherman group.

Despite our continuing differences with the Guardian's position on many questions, and despite the fact that in the past the Guardian encouraged ultraleftist and anarchist trends; people seriously concerned with the health of the U.S. left must take sides to support the Guardian, and denounce its attackers.

First, because such violence within the movement does all of us damage. Second, because the anarchist-ultra-left melange has already done serious damage to the left in the U.S. The current enemies of the Guardian are the enemies of Marxism in the U.S. left.

BETTINA APTHEKER
BOB KAUFMAN, S.F.

Ecological?

Hi and Greetings — and a belated thanks for your Eco Logical Valentine. (PW, 14 Feb.)—and "Which Side Are You On?" (PW, 21 Feb.)

Your decision to raise some right questions that require left answers is what I have been fighting for the past four years. How can we honestly criticize trade unions and their newspapers when our own press decided that these were peripheral issues that would only create diversions from our concentration on the issues of racism and war? Why can't we bring some of these issues into focus and see how they relate to the main issues to determine where and when they can be used as a tool or a weapon to advance the overall struggle?

When we help organize a fight to prevent black workers being bulldozed out of their homes to make room for a freeway we strike a blow against racism. When we unite with 20 to 30 community organizations to prevent a whole city being reduced to concrete jungle and pocket slums by highwaymen who have $10 billion a year that cannot even be touched for Vietnam we are striking a blow against the war program. This is so because we never miss the opportunity to point out that it is the war program that has dried up all funds for programs to help the cities, such as low cost housing, education, child care and public transportation systems that will reduce air pollution instead of generating more by building more freeways.

You have made a good start but Marxist theory must be a guide to action. Letter writers should write more about the struggles they have helped to organize and are planning for the future. Staff reporting in March 7 issue was good and the two pages of letters were interesting but a couple of them were heavy on the rhetoric.

Up here we have a gold brick "rapid transit plan" election coming up this May 19. We are opposing a $440 million bond issue that would burden a Metro transit system with more than half a million dollars a week interest for 40 years but only "study" for at least two more years. We have already spent over $10 million for studies. All of them wound up recommending more freeways. More on this in another letter. Keep up the good work and happy Ecology. We know which side you are on.

—E. ALLEN, Seattle

Brigade on tour.

bers of the Party and the Communist Youth) who built the base on which the socialist society could be built after the revolution — we, the members of the Communist Party of the United States, bring back a renewed determination to make our party the revolutionary instrument of our people's will and needs, to continue our struggle in opposition—to unite the people behind the truth.

And as we go back to the pressure and pain that is our country, we exchange the raised-fist salute of power and solidarity with our uniformed Cuban comrade who guards the people of Cuba against the uniformed exploiter who walks the streets of the United States and Vietnam. And we bring back home the experience of slogans made real . . . International Solidarity . . . In unity there is strength . . .

Venceremos . . .

Editorial

Link up struggles: black, brown, labor

The student strike now rocking the country must stay firm, and it must spread, if the people are to take maximum advantage of the current crisis, or the current confusion and disarray in which the Nixon Administration finds itself.

More than any other factor, it was the sudden, nationwide, largely spontaneous student strike that turned the Nixon invasion of Cambodia into this great national crisis.

This gives the student movement a great responsibility. As long as the schools are not conducting business as usual, as long as they are centers of anti-war action, they act as open wounds in the fabric of social "peace."

They generate the atmosphere of crisis that acts as a spur to the rest of the people to find the ways best suited to get them moving in angry, united and visible action against the floundering and divided enemy.

Students know the necessity to link up to the great mass of our people. Millions of them are reaching out. It is an explosion of released creative energy directed at reaching the people.

The war makers know the danger to their policy. They have already moved fast to try to divide the students from other people, and primarily from working people. That is the meaning of the employer-planned and financed "construction worker" attack on the anti-war demonstration on Wall Street.

The media played that up as an expression of the feeling of workers, for the same reason they play up any sign of division between the student anti-war movement and black and brown students. They try to spread the lie that it is only the well-educated, the privileged, who are in the anti-war movement.

That is one reason why the anti-war movement must link up with the fight against racism, and make it central to its own struggle. This means concrete action to demand freedom for Bobby Seale, and an end to harrassment of the Black Panther party, Chicano activists, and other concrete steps, not just empty rhetoric against racism.

The students have opened the breach, but the war policy will not be defeated until the working people charge through it.

The labor movement must move now, to take advantage of this decisive moment.

The first priority is visible mobilization. Millions of workers who are against the war must be shown they are not isolated. For this reason it is also necessary to repudiate George Meany's statements and isolate all those in the labor leadership who do not break with the policies of the Nixon Administration.

Labor officials and rank and file groups should take ads, call press conferences, organize lunch hour shop meetings, weekend marches and, yes, work stoppages where they are possible.

This is the time to be bold, to build for the rapidly approaching day when U.S. workers will strike against the war machine and close it down.

From the staff

Violence and the psyche's reason

SAN FRANCISCO

I WANT to tell you about a story I read in the Chronicle the other day.

A "learned" man, a psychiatrist, Dr. Raymond W. Waggoner of the University of Michigan, opened the American Psychiatric Association's annual meeting just the other day with an announcement from the group's Board of Trustees that the psychiatric association would devote its programs and its energies to researching "the genesis of violence" for the next two years.

Ah! How splendid! These men, in two years time, will have discovered the origin of violence and will be well on their merry way towards resolving the "worst crisis" of the 20th century.

Could it be these men will diagnose class society as the root cause of violence?

And then, our "learned" man from Michigan, still speaking in behalf of the Board of Trustees of APA, urged psychiatrists to develop "specific psycho-social techniques to preserve mankind from self-destruction."

Any half-sane class conscious worker would surely ask, what techniques is he talking about? To be used on whom? On Nixon and his associates?

No. Of course, not on them. After all, why do you think our "learned" man then urged psychiatrists to help all people realize the roots of brutality that exist in everyone.

IF IT isn't already abundantly clear that they intend to use these techniques on working people to curb their "violent" tendencies, then notice they are not concerned with the destruction of mankind. Rather, they are concerned with mankind's "self-destruction."

They talk about mankind destroying itself, people purposely setting out to obliterate themselves, to blow themselves up as if they were crazy fools.

Not only do they disregard the source of today's violence — imperialism — but also the most basic human instinct — the desire of people to live and stay alive.

If they were really concerned about the destruction of mankind, would they not, as a first step, at least, condemn and mobilize against those who perpetuate U.S. aggression in Indochina, in the black ghettos and the brown barrios, in the picket lines and on the jobs?

Then, too, these men cannot see the new man, the new woman, blooming like flowers in the open field that lies beyond the soot and smog and gore and gangrene of a polluted and decaying society.

ANOTHER OF our "learned" friends, a certain Dr. Walter Menninger of the famed Menninger Foundation Clinic in Topeka, Kansas, reminded his colleagues: "It is impossible to engage in reasonable dialogue as long as citizens with responsibility unleash their emotions either by action or by overgeneralizing and provocative rhetoric."

Like Nixon, who recently has made a hobby of chatting with student demonstrators, they want to appease, cool the people's anger, which promises to set this whole system on fire.

The psychiatrist, said our second learned friend, can offer a disturbed society the "quiet voice of reason, a catalyst for change and a central respect for the individual human being." That all sounds good. But what this particular disturbed society needs is not the change that can be accomplished by quiet reasoning. What is needed is revolutionary change and that requires action backed up with revolutionary theory.

To talk of violence without condemning its source is criminal. To talk of violence without realizing its progressive nature when it is used by people defending their homeland, defending their families and friends, defending socialism and its right to come to life and remain alive is a revelation of the petty-bourgeois character of these men.

—JUAN LOPEZ

Staunch defender of 'Los Catolicos'

Oscar Acosta in L.A. sheriff's race

By JUDY BASTON

LOS ANGELES — "The privilege of bearing guns and their use under color of law," charged attorney Oscar Acosta, "has increased the incidence of violence."

Acosta is putting this philosophy into practice by running for sheriff in Los Angeles county on a platform that includes the "ultimate dissolution of the Sheriff's Dept."

The militant Chicano attorney has been defending members of Los Catolicos por la Raza in Los Angeles Municipal Court on charges stemming from a Christmas Eve protest at St. Basil's Cathedral. He was also involved in defending persons charged with conspiracy for helping plan the school walkouts last year on the predominantly Chicano East Side of Los Angeles.

There are three candidates for sheriff, including conservative incumbent Sheriff Peter Pitchess. Because of this stiff opposition, Acosta says newsmen and others frequently ask him, "Are you serious about this campaign?"

"When a militant Chicano runs for sheriff — to get the guns — a lot of people would much rather pretend he's not serious," Acosta said.

His candidacy has been endorsed by the Congress of Mexican American Unity, a confederacion of 86 Chicano organizations in Southern California. Acosta says he is running for sheriff "primarily to find a means of meeting people to talk about issues that are important to us."

"Lots of groups talk to us now who wouldn't before," Acosta said. "They're basically white people, but there have been very few attempts at any form of coalition."

In addition to the ultimate dissolution of the Sheriff's Department, Acosta's platform includes:

- Interim actual and symbolic demilitarization of deputies.
- Immediate withdrawal of concentrated forces in the barrios and ghettoes.
- Immediate investigation into criminal activities of law enforcement officers.
- Implementation of community reveiew boards from the various areas.
- Immediate use of personnel, equipment and facilities for utilitarian and socially beneficial programs as recommended and approved by community review boards.
- Equality of treatment and justice for all.

"When I propose the ultimate dissolution of law enforcement agencies," Acosta says, "I realize such a proposal will be misinterpreted by the average person . . . who has been totally brainwashed into believing that violence and the threat of violence is instinctive to our nature.

"From a purely pragmatic view," he emphasized, "increase in armaments and personnel has not decreased the violence in men nor the incidence of crime. Instead, the one single source of this friction is the very arm of the law which was originally conceived as a means of lessening conflict in society."

Acosta sees more important to his platform "realistic implementation of various programs at the outset."

Election and utilization of citizen review boards, Acosta says, would "serve as the basis for implementation of these proposals."

Ultimately, he added, "what our campaign hopes to do is to give fairminded people an opportunity of choice. If we are elected it will serve as a warning to all those forces of reaction throughout the country that seem intent on killing every form of dissent and dissenter."

Acosta is running as the Chicano community's candidate, carrying the endorsement of the CMAU. But there are other elements in his campaign.

"Humor and flavor and youth will be part of my campaign," he said, "because they're part of me."

His is a campaign against use of law enforcement agencies for police state tactics against "the Chicano, and the black, the poor and the unrepresented."

Campaign activity for Acosta comes from 5237 E. Beverly blvd., which has a phone number of (213) 722-5135.

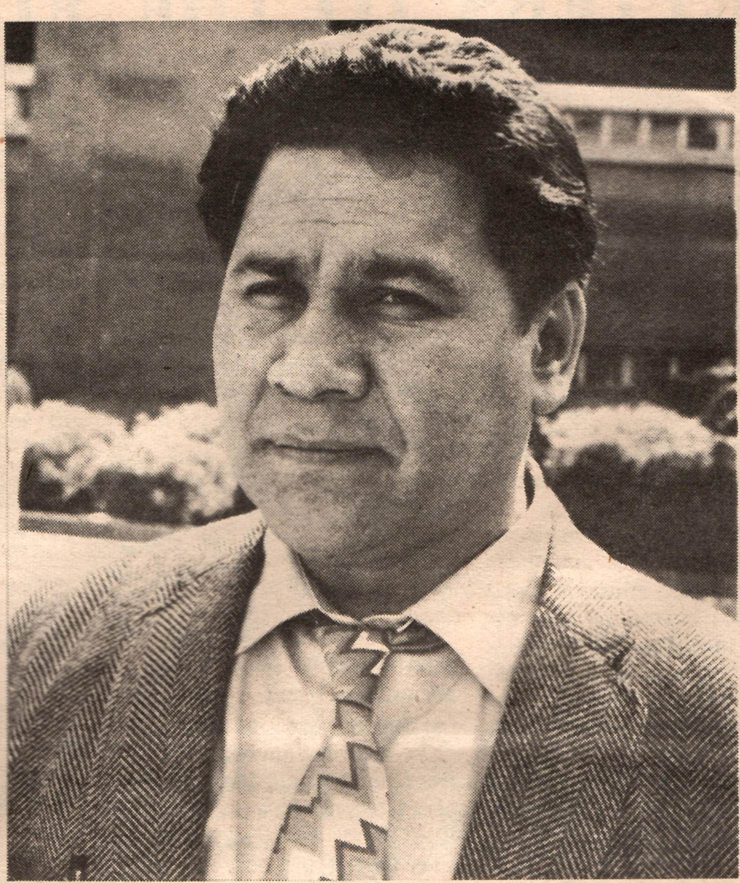


Photo: La Raza

OSCAR ACOSTA: "If we are elected, it will serve as a warning to those forces of reaction . . . intent on killing all dissent."

Centennial journey Our correspondent en route to Moscow

Italy students protest U.S. in Viet, show solidarity for Black Panthers

By VIVIAN RAINERI

ROME (Delayed) — The streets of Rome swarmed with police April 18. We passed the big American Bar, hangout for people from the U.S. It was surrounded by dozens and dozens of police, many with shields held in front of them. On the main streets and in small side streets were busloads more.

The average U.S. tourist must have been bewildered. All this protection for him. For that is what much of it was.

The student movement of Rome was on the streets in a huge anti-imperialist demonstration. There were two main focuses to the march and rallies: against the war in Vietnam and in protest against the presence in Italy of the head of police of Sao Paulo, Brazil, well-known torturer of political prisoners.

A student representative presented us with the following statement:

"The student movement of Rome has organized a big manifestation (demonstration) against imperialism. Our march has been forbidden by police but the student movement will do it anyway.

'IN SOLIDARITY'

"Revolutionary students — which are part of the people's movement in general — greet the delegation in support of the Panthers and declare they are in solidarity with all the revolutionary forces in the world, and that particularly they support and help in any way the revolutionary fight of the U.S. people against the fascists and U.S. imperialists.

"The Panthers and other revolutionary U.S. forces are bringing the war inside the U.S., the spearhead of imperialism, which makes oppression against the peoples of the whole world.

"For this reason, revolutionary students will demonstrate once again tomorrow and will fight against imperialists and U.S. fascists.

"This fight will be done also to demand that Huey Newton and other revolutionary leaders be freed, and to demand that all people in the U.S. be free from oppression.

"Students send a revolutionary greeting to the Panthers and declare they are in accordance with the principles of true internationalism. They will show their solidarity with the Panthers, thereby making stronger the strength of the class.

'WE WILL WIN'

"In our country, we attack the structure of capitalism and imperialism and we carry on the revolutionary fight for the liberation of all peoples of the world.

"All power to the people! The people are strong! We will win!"

It has been explained to us that students and left forces generally in Italy sometimes resort to illegal demonstrations, depending on the issue and circumstances.

For example, the Communist party in Rome held an illegal march to the U.S. embassy here when U.S. forces first entered the demilitarized zone in Vietnam.

The decisions to hold such forbidden rallies are not made lightly by most militant organizations.

And to see the streets of Rome — for example the narrow streets surounding the U.S. Embassy — and how easy it is for the police to box people in and wade in with their clubs and hoses, with no escape route, it is clear that such decisions are political ones and not based on an ultra-left approach.

EMBASSY MARCH

This is not to say that there is no ultra-leftism in the student movement or that groups and individuals always agree. On April 14, at the huge rally in solidarity with the U.S. antiwar movement, though it was not official policy of the organizations sponsoring it, some hundreds of marchers left the rally to march to the U.S. Embassy. They were met by a wall of police; they were followed by truckloads of more police. Most demonstratrs dispersed, a few were arrested.

So the student movement of Rome, which, we have been told is in the main a unified movement, a large one and a class conscious one, took to the streets. They knew what they were up against, but the issues were stronger than the danger.

Garry: Panther leaders are 'prisoners of war'

SAN FRANCISCO—The criminal court in New Haven, Conn., attorney Charles Garry charged last week, has no jurisdiction to try Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale, because he is a "prisoner of war."

Garry announced this view at a news conference May 4. He had discussed it at length about a week earlier, at a conference for young attorneys and law students, sponsored by the Natl. Lawyers Guild.

"There is now warfare going on between the colony and the mother country," Garry charged. "What applies now is military law and we want recognition of that under the United Nations and the Geneva Accords."

When one nation is fighting another, Garry told the Guild conference, "you're controlled by the articles of war . . . One nation doesn't try the other nation. When you get caught you are put as a prisoner of war, not tried by that enemy."

CAN'T TRY PANTHERS

No member of the Panthers can get a fair trial in the U.S., Garry explained, because "the nation that captures you is certainly not going to give you a fair trial . . . a war tribunal will have to investigate this matter."

In Korea and Vietnam, Garry said, even though there had been no formal declarations of war, both sides recognized each other under the articles of war.

"If this is true in these countries," he asked, "why not the U.S.?"

It is important for young attorneys to project that there are two nations in the U.S., one of which is dominating the other, Garry said.

When Huey P. Newton, Panther defense minister, first went to jail, Garry related Newton said he wouldn't work unless he received minimum wages. He later said he didn't intend to work under any circumstances, whether or not he received minimum wages, because he was a prisoner of war, and under the articles of war he should have an apartment of his own, all the food he needs, the dignity of a POW.

PANTHERS 'VANGUARD'

"The world has recognized the Black Panther party as the vanguard of the black liberation movement," Garry said. "Understanding that means that we as lawyers have to tell judges they don't have jurisdiction to try the leadership of the black nation."

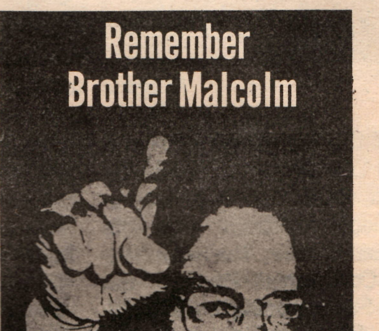
The young attorneys and law students had quite a few questions for Garry. There were those, of course, who did not accept the analysis of U. S. blacks as a colony within a mother country. But even for whose who did, there was uncertainty about how they would be able to translate the "prisoner of war" view into legal strategy.

"Wouldn't this mean people would just be put in jail without trial?" one person asked.

Garry emphasized that in most cases, Black Panther defendants had "already been caught as 'prisoners of war'."

His strategy, he said, was to keep his clients "out of court as much as possible." In this connection Garry said he had "no intention of surrendering" Field Marshal Donald Cox, currently being sought on a federal murder warrant.

Remember Brother Malcolm



born May 19, 1925 -
Assassinated Feb. 21, 1965

Plan to cap Minuteman missiles next month

Will Nixon deploy MIRV?

By SAM GOLD

SAN FRANCISCO — The Soviet newspaper Pravda recently issued this warning: failure to reach agreement in Vienna's SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between U. S. and USSR) would turn the clock back to 1946 — when the nuclear arms race began.

This was one response to the Pentagon's intent to deploy MIRV, the latest nuclear horror weapon, on Minutemen missiles in June.

MIRV (Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicle) placed on one missile contains from three to 14 bombs (warheads), each of them with independent targetry for separate destinations.

Deployed on Poseidon (missiles on submarines) there would be 224 warheads on each sub.

Each warhead is two-and-a-half times the power of the Hiroshima bomb. Thus, as explained by Alexander De Volpi, nuclear physicist at Argonne National Laboratory, "nearly a full measure of deterrence would reside in every submarine alone."

"Each one of our 41 submarines," he says, "will have the ability to destroy 160 cities."

"Deterrence" is regarded as the capacity to inflict destruction on a nation that would fatally affect its survival, and thus deter it from initiating military action.

INITIATING ACTION

In early April the Senate passed a resolution, 72 to 6, calling on our government to propose at SALT a joint moratorium on deployment of offensive and defensive strategic weapons.

This act was one result of the Nixon-appointed arms control committee, which itself urged such an immediate suspension.

But on Tuesday, April 28, President Nixon, briefing Republican Congressional leaders, declared it would be "destructive for U.. S. unilaterally to stop expansion of ABM or to stop deployment of multiple missile warheads."

Is the U. S. militarily behind the Soviets? The San Francisco Chronicle reported on April 21: "In a statement earlier this year Defense Secretary Laird gave the U. S. a three-to-one advantage, 4100 warheads to 1350 for the Soviet Union."

De Volpi estimates the present U. S. capacity to "overkill" the Soviet union 20 times. "With MIRV," he says, "we're aiming for 50 times overkill or more."

Yet on April 28, Laird, speaking at the annual Associated Press luncheon in New York, argued for a further buildup into the mid-to-late '70's.

PENTAGON IS BOSS

Former Sen. Joseph Clark has now charged that the Pentagon is in control of U. S. negotiations at SALT: "The talks are in serious jeopardy.

"It is my understanding that Paul Nitze, a long time Pentagon official, has primary responsibility for formulating the basic U. S. position," he said.

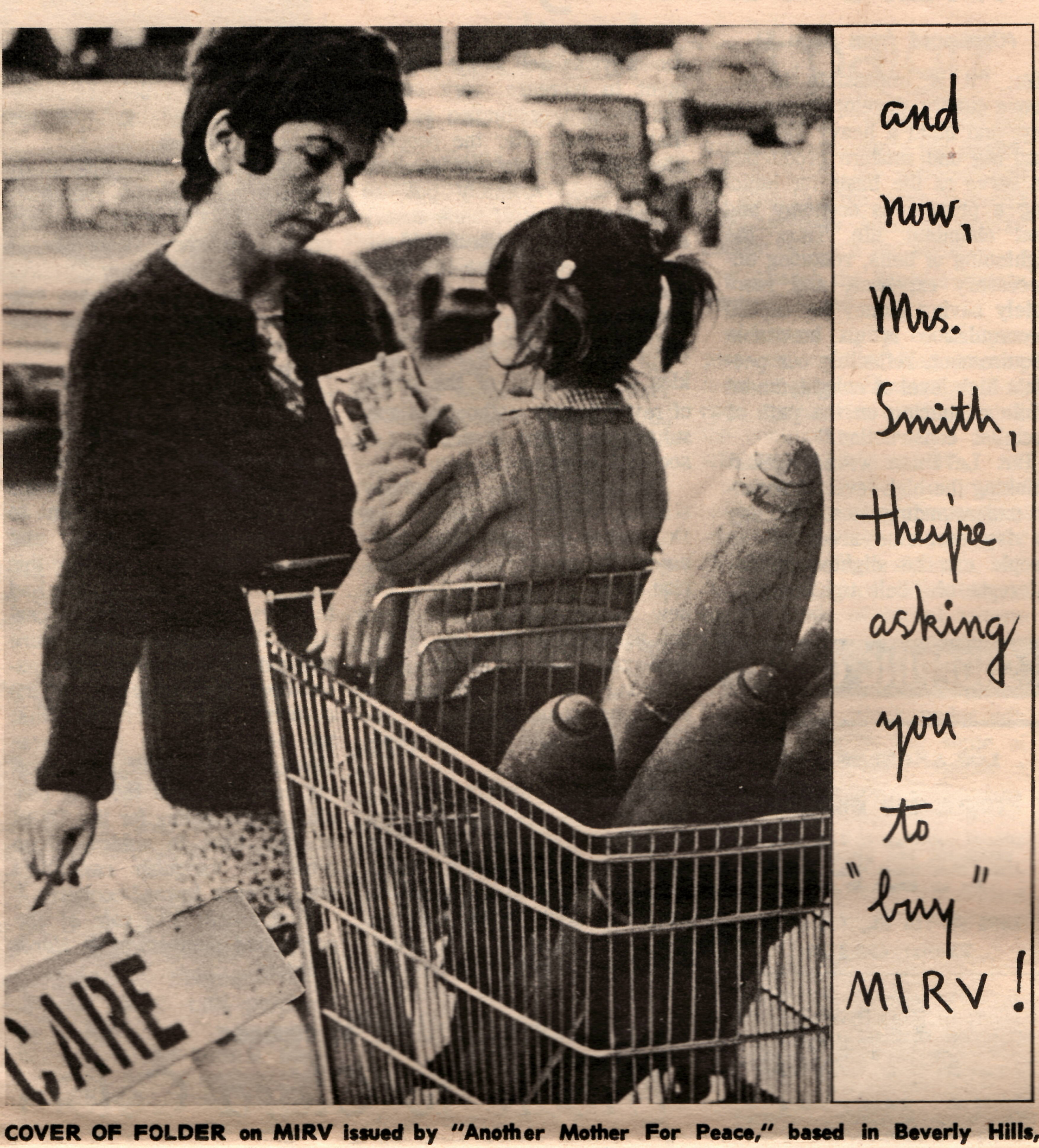
Time magazine, April 20, also reflects a pessimistic view, saying, "Acting on Nixon's instructions, the delegation is unlikely to propose any plans nearly so bold as the Senate resolution" for a moratorium.

Jeremy Stone, member of the Council of the American Federation of Scientists, and of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London, has put it bluntly:

"The Dept. of Defense has become an inventor and a merchandizer of exaggerated fears. It has become an unscrupulous lobbyist for the weapns to answer those fears . . .

"The Defense Dept. has never been responsible for a serious effort to halt the arms race by negotiation," Stone said. "Instead it has spent billions to give our missiles the ability to destroy Soviet missiles on the ground.

"In this sense our strategic posture has been a first strike posture, not a retaliatory postureonly. Every serious scholar of these matters knows this is so."


CARE
and now, Mrs. Smith, they're asking you to "buy" MIRV!

COVER OF FOLDER on MIRV issued by "Another Mother For Peace," based in Beverly Hills, Calif. The folder is available in large quantities from local peace groups.

The Defense Dept. pattern, he said, "is one of undermining Soviet deterrent while complaining that the other side may in the future undermine ours."

FIRST STRIKE

He explained further, "Faced with imminent threat of multiple warheads and a missile defense (ABM), the Soviet Union must multiply its missile force to maintain its retaliatory capacity. The SS-9 is an efficient way to do this."

Stone charged the Defense Dept. has seized on the potential of the Soviet SS-9 "to argue that our land-based missiles may be attacked."

The British Institute of Strategic Studies affirms that Nixon and the Pentagon are working to triple the number of nuclear warheads. It is the institute's belief that this would "increase the relative attraction of a first-strike attack."

Another verification of this aggressive U. S. policy was Sen. Fulbright's revelation a couple of weeks back that the Air Force, since 1964, has had plans for a "first-strike" against the Soviet Union.

Yet only a few years ago, the U. S. signed a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty with the Soviet Union in which they agreed "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race."

INSPECTION

The traditional excuse for U. S. unwillingness to reach agreement is the question of verifying agreements by "inspection." Philip NoelBaker, famed British Member of Parliament who was on the inside of all major post-war disarmament talks, exposed the duplicity of the Pentagon's "concern" for a genuine inspection system.

In his book "The Arms Race" he describes the about-face withdrawal of the U. S. from a comprehensive inspection system put forward by the Soviets in May, 1955. The Soviets had then proposed "an international control organ existing in all states" and "with powers of inspection."

The present-day orbiting of space satellites provides an inspection system that allows for immediate suspension of further testing and deployment of missiles — and thus establish the level from which arms could be mutually scaled down.

Describing the effectiveness of satellite reconnaisance, Stone said, "We could see from satellite altitudes of 200 miles, not just dinner plates, but telephone wires an eighth of an inch wide."

Today the U. S. and USSR by this system can virtually compute the number of missiles each possesses — including those underground. It is also the means of checking all nuclear testing.

DEPLOYING MIRV

The deployment of MIRV, however, will make this inspection system obsolete since, as Stone says, "it will be impossible for either side to know how many warheads the other side has on its missiles."

"There could be 8 or 10," he said, "nobody would know. By then, only on-site inspection would do.

This is still a hang-up. For, as the New York Times Weekly Review (April 26) put it, "U. S. too would think hard and long before exposing its installations to the eyes of Soviet inspectors."

This is why an immediatie suspension of testing and deployment is critical.

Important, too, for SALT, is the ABM issue. DeVolpi said on the supposedly defensive flaws of ABM: "ABM is like an umbrella perforated with holes, which fails to open when needed . . . and isn't much use when wind drives the rain sidewise. There's a deadly difference (between ABM and an umbrella); one drop of rain can be tolerated; one nuclear missile getting through can obliterate a city."

WHY ABM

Why, then, the Pentagon demand for an extension of ABM? De Volpi fixes an important clue: "Of more immediate concern is the possible conversion of ABM missiles to an offensive role.

"There has been mention of multiple warheads on Spartans," he said. Spartans are the larger of the two ABM missile systems.

A couple of weeks ago, a former government disarmament official, Dr. Herbert Scoville, told a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee the U. S. could negotiate a freeze on strategic weapons right now, including MIRV, without fear of secret violations.

At the same hearing Dr. Wolfgang Panofsky, a top U.S. nuclear physicist, said the administration is jeopardizing SALT by insisting on expanding the missile system.

TIME IS CRITICAL

The SALT talks will be going for about two and a half more months, if the Cambodia escalation doesn't jeopardize them. But if MIRV is deployed in

(Continued on Page 10)

Castro lauds Soviet aid against U.S. imperialism

HAVANA (Prensa Latina) — Premier Fidel Castro, in a speech marking the centenary of Lenin's birth, greeted the diplomatic representative of the USSR, members of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society and other Soviet and Cuban comrades present and declared that without the October Revolution in Russia, achieved under Lenin's leadership, Cuba could not have become the first socialist country of the western hemisphere.

Today, said Castro, "we have super-revolutionaries, super-leftists, who are capable of eviscerating imperialism in two seconds —with their tongues.

"Many such super-revolutionaries don't have the slightest notion of the realities of the revolution, of its problems and difficulties.

"They are well nourished by imperialism in these beliefs and develop a ferocious hatred. It is as though they could not forgive the very existence of the Soviet Union and they regard it from their special position on the left.

"They would want a Soviet Union modeled on their strange image, on their ridiculous idealizations. But a nation is above all a matter of reality, and of one that is made up of a multitude of other realities.

"These currents forget the inevitable initial difficulties of the revolution in the USSR, the tremendous problems of the blockade, of isolation, of fascist aggression.

"They forget the problems of Cuba, of Vietnam, of the Arab world.

"Wherever imperialism raises its fist to strike, it encounters a country, a state, which sends arms in quantities to those who need it to defend themselves.

"In our case, we have received 1.5 billion pesos (1.5 billion dollars) of armament from the Soviet Union. And we do not at all think we received the largest amount.

"We do not say this as a request for more, for in other

(Continued on page 10)

Le Duan on Vietnam development —

People's needs must be met while building socialism

(Continued from page 5)

like, "it is impossible to improve quality, develop the economy, and build a heavy industry and big and modern production to serve as the basis for building a prosperous economy and and abundant life. Thus, the tightening of belts, reducing unnecessary expenses, and resolutely saving money for capital accumulation is an inevitable requirement, reflecting our people's high level of enlightenment while advancing on the path of socialist construction."

But Le Duan warns against thinking the high level of socialist understanding means the day to day economic needs of the people can be slighted in the interests of "belt tightening."

"The nature of the socialist economy, as well as the requirement to increase work output and develop production require that we look after the people's life, satisfy their fundamental needs, and resolutely put an end to the cases of unnecessary shortages and irrational difficulties in serving the people's daily life."

In a passage written with the force of polemic, Le Duan tackles the question of the limits of revolutionary enthusiasm and subjective desire in deciding a socialist economic policy.

The passage is particularly striking because the example Le Duan cites is Lenin's New Economic Policy. This was the period when in order to help the new Soviet state recover from the devastating damage of the civil war, Lenin relaxed rigid planning and some of the restrictions on small capitalist activity, especially for the peasants.

"Proletarian dictatorship and the people's revolutionary enthusiasm," Le Duan says, "are very important moving forces because without them socialism cannot be built. If we think we can build socialism with proletarian dictatorship and our enthusiasm alone, and if we disregard all objective laws and economic facts which are sometimes cruel and hard, we are grossly mistaken.

"When stressing particularly the role of subjective factors of individuals, the vanguard party and the masses, Lenin always reminded the communist parties to absolutely refrain from taking one's subjective will as policy and one's feelings as a starting point for revolutionary policy and strategy.

"A well known striking example is that when posing the problem of shifting from the communist policy in wartime to the new economic policy and when defining and executing this new economic policy. Lenin had to exert immense effort to persuade the communists who were embued with revolutionary enthusiasm but unaware of the economic laws to realize that the new economic policy was absolutely not a policy of restoring capitalism but the only possible single policy for the USSR at that time to achieve these aims: to vanquish capitalism and advance toward socialism."

Next week: The role of the party and democracy in North Vietnam.

SHOPPING GUIDE

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• WHAT'S ON

VICTORVILLE

COME TO A party for the PW, Sunday, May 17, 1 p.m. at 14474 Cobalt Rd., Victorville. Fine dinner. Musical program. Guest speaker: Allen Zak, from L.A. PW editorial staff. Adm.: $1.50 children: 75c. Benefit: People's World.

LOS ANGELES

DOROTHY HEALEY Telephone Program, 11:00 every Monday night. Radio Station KPFK.

BLACK PEOPLE'S Theatre. The Touring Artists Group, directed by Frank Greenwood, presents "For My People: Part Two." Exciting, provocative satire, folk songs monologues and drama. Audience talk-back after performance. Thursday, June 4, 1970, 8 p.m., Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St., L. A. Adm.: $1.50. Auspices: Echo Park-Silverlake Forum.

BOOKS BOOKS, BOOKS — Any books you can spare to help stock the Book Fair at the People's World Picnic on May 31st (noon to 6), 2143 Duxbury Circle (near Pico and Beverly Dr.) L. A.

THE PEOPLE'S WORLD invites you to join the celebration of Marion and Max Miller's 140 years of life dedicated to peace, freedom and socialism. Have dinner and enjoy a fine cultural program. Sat., May 23, 1970—5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. at 827 N. Edgemont, L.A. Don. $1.50.

SAN FRANCISCO

SAVE THE DATE! People's World Picnic in Marin, Sunday, June 14, 1-5 p. m. 16 Walnut, Mill Valley. Program, delicious food.

LINUS PAULING speaks — "Let's Save the World." Lenin Centennial Celebration, Friday, June 12 at 8:00 p.m., Glide Memorial Church, Taylor and Ellis sts., S. F. Information: 90 McAllister, S.F., UN 1-3813.

EAST BAY

CELEBRATE Mickie and Helen Lima's 30th wedding anniversary on May 24, from 2:00 at 1425 Spruce St., Berkeley. No personal gifts, please. Benefit People's World.

• WANT ADS

CEMETERY LOT for sale, Walnut Creek. For information call The People's World business manager.

EAST BAY

NEED TO WORK. Will babysit Monday thru Friday. Berkeley, 843-1985. Suzanna.

Woman leader dies of cancer

Tribute to Clara Colon: 'great courage, modesty'

NEW YORK — National and state leaders of the Communist party joined recently in tributes to Clara Colon, national committee member who died here May 7 of cancer.

A statement, signed by Henry Winston and Gus Hall, national chairman and general secretary, respectively, and New York state chairman Rasheed Story and state secretary Frances Bordos, was issued.

"Clara Colon had a deep sense of devotion and dedication to the working class and to our party over the past forty years," they wrote. "She was an activist in the struggle against racism and for democracy. She defied the witchhunters of the McCarthy period in the south. She continued that valuable work in the defense of the rights of Communists and all Americans in the battle against the McCarran Act.

"She was a Communist organizer who always had strong relations with masses. Her work and contribution had a mark of greatness and courage while she had always a beautiful modesty.

" Clara Colon demonstrated her remarkable qualities in continuing her work during illness. While confined to her home and bed she did some of her most creative writing.

"'She had a firm confidence in the science of Marxism-Leninism and the program of the Communist party which strengthened her will to live. When she appeared at the 19th convention of the Communist party and again at the International Women's Day celebration, she was properly greeted with a standing ovation.

"Her life was an example of that Communist quality which gives inspiration and strength not only to young women, but to all the youth and to all of us."

LOS ANGELES

Plan For A Day of Fun at the

People's World Picnic

May 31, 1970 — from Noon to 6 p.m.

2143 Duxbury Circle
(near Pico & Beverly Blvd.)
Los Angeles

New place, with new features!

*** FOOD * MUSIC * SWIMMING**

and BOOK FAIR

CUBA'S PREMIER Fidel Castro examines automatic weapons captured from invading mercenaries coming from Florida. The weapons are the same used by U. S. troops in Vietnam.

Fidel lauds world role of Soviets

(Continued from page 9)

places the need is greater."

"Therefore, the existence of the Soviet state is, objectively — I repeat, objectively — one of the most extraordinary privileges enjoyed by the revolutionary movement.

"What do I mean by this? I mean that it is possible to have different opinions of different problems; I mean that different revolutionary movements may have different interpretations as to how to face certain things. This does not mean that every party must perforce think exactly the same way as others. No! Let there be no misunderstanding about this.

"We believe that due to enormous diversity of problems and the complexity of problems there will always be a great number of different viewpoints. There will always be! To expect anything else would be sheer idealism.

"We are speaking of the existence of a whole plague of pseudo-revolutionaries, of writers paid by imperialism, who write against the Soviet Union with incredible animosity and practically refuse to forgive the Soviet state for existing. This is something which can only benefit, and a sentiment that only emanates from reactionary, imperialist hatred."

MIRV threat

(Continued from page 9)

June, during the talks, the Pandora's box will have been opened.

The age of pushbutton, 15-minute world war is upon us. Besides these overkill missiles poised in the earth, nuclear armed subs ply through the oceans, and hydrogen bombs can soon be in permanent planetary orbit, if they aren't already.

The potential of accidental war is also vastly increased.

Peace organizations now have a critical role to play, in halting MIRV deployment and blocking congressional appropriations.

ELSINORE

WE MOURN THE LOSS
OF TWO FRIENDS
Cima Borenstein
and
Martha Regner
FIGHTERS FOR A
PEACEFUL WORLD

Yetta & Abe S.
Sylvia & Michael O.
Rose & Jacob L.
Ida & Morris K.
Freda W. Ida M.
Helen & Joe W.
Ruth & Harry Anna S.
Stella & Willie D.
Sarah G. Zena G.
Betty & Meyer F.
Luba & William D.
Frieda & Irving W.
Bessie Z.

Pass This Paper On To A Friend

FRESNO

IN MEMORY OF
WILLIAM SPROGIS
Kermen, California
Died March 28, 1970.
A long time reader and supporter of The People's World and always loyal to the working class in its fight for Peace and Freedom.

NORTHWEST

Dear Harvey, Frank and Don:
Yes, the War is still going on.
You three opposed this awful slaughter,
Advocated instead — jobs, houses, clean water.
To you the system gave its answer —
Cancer!
While we who shared your hope
Were trying to free men from the dope
Of the establishment's poisoned pen,
Gone now also is Ben.
To you Four,
Like the hundreds coming, and before,
We promise not to waver
In our task to support this newspaper.

COMMUNICATIONS

Women's role—through media's eyes

The insidious instruction of soap operas

LOS ANGELES

IF THERE be anything lonelier than one solitary sud, it might be the people who are deeply involved in TV soap operas.

Not the actors, the viewers. The people inhabiting the mythical "typical" towns are uncommonly burdened with miseries, but they are, in a strange way, company for housebound women who, in the main, must converse with children.

"Soaps" are also insidious instructors on the role of women in society, and there are a few rules for spotting the characters meant by their creators to be emulated.

The first axiom involves drinking habits. The ideal woman drinks only sherry, and only after five o'clock. Those who occasionally indulge in a martini are liable to act in suspect ways at any moment.

The second is children. A woman is only fulfilled when she has them. The ladies in question seem extremely fecund, married or un (a no-no, but a frequent occurrence), and there is no such thing as an uncomplicated childbirth, but then, traumas make a person strong. By the way, contraceptives are unknown in the television hinterlands.

The third revolves around what I call the Red Shoes Syndrome. Intelligent women must choose between husbands and careers. Untold agonies result when the wrong choice is made—some have even become irreversibly dead for their pains.

WOMEN WORK until something better — marriage — comes along. And when it does, Her Man is a doctor, lawyers, architect or newsman. Anybody else is a possible no-goodnik. Working class types are seen as sweet and good, but not very bright. Blacks and Jews and Asians are almost non-existent.

Few, of course, stop to realize that the women portraying these hapless creatures are real, actual people with careers as actors.

This is not the entire picture. In the context of complete unreality, some realism makes inroads, and always with jarring effects, like Cinderella having bad breath or Snow White leading an anti-drug campaign.

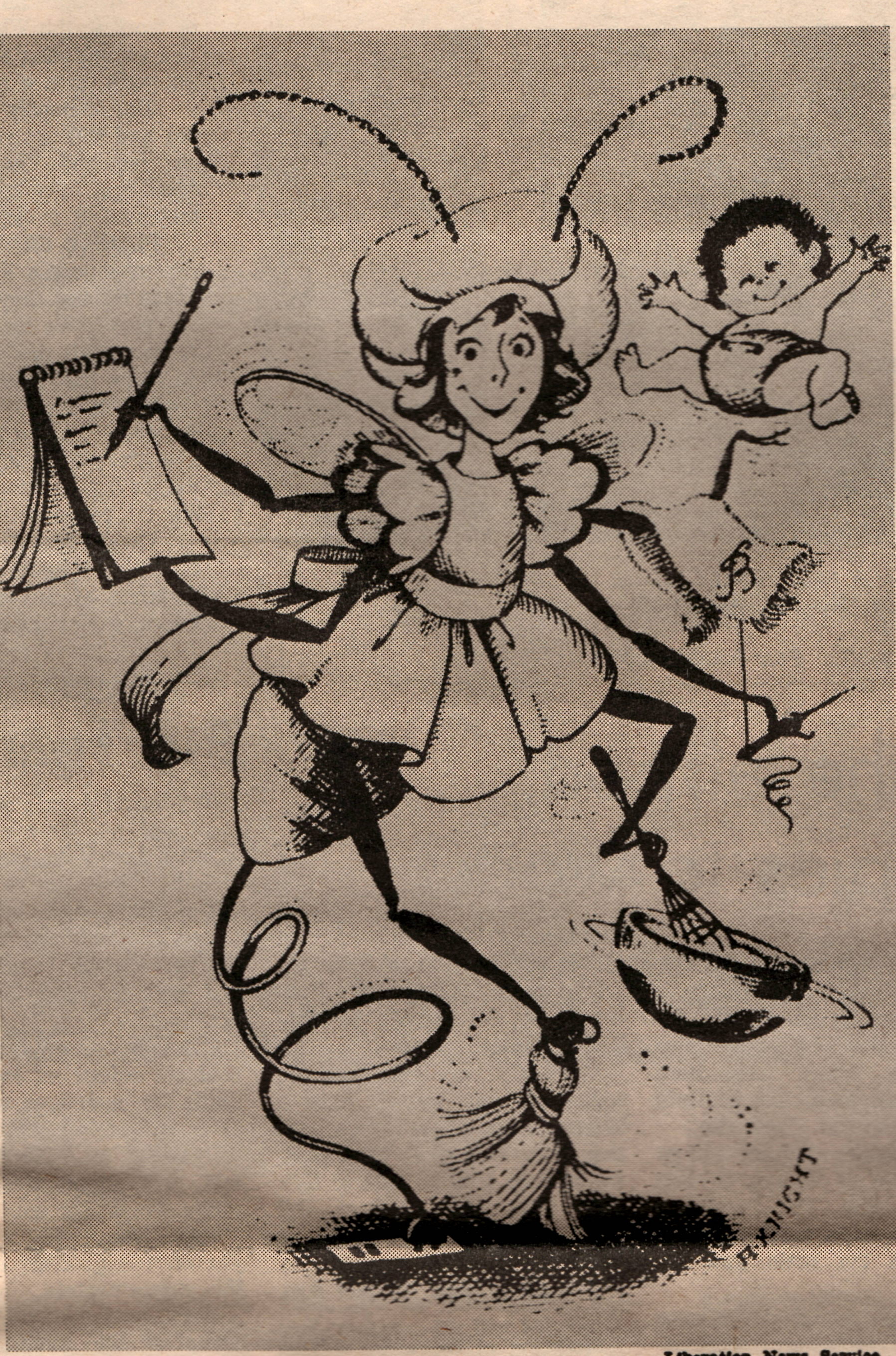
For instance, the day before the November Moratorium, many of the young actors in New York had organized and managed to include lines about the war and their participation in the forthcoming demonstrations.

On the dim and grim side, when people get sick, they sometimes die. When people get divorced, they often don't get back together. The only comfort in this is the knowledge that the actor so unceremoniously eliminated from the script has probably gone on to bigger and better things, as have Ruby Dee, Laurence Luckenbill, and Hal Holbrook, to name a few.

THE ACTING is consistently the best on television. These are craftsmen who daily overcome the pitfalls of live television and impossible scripts.

And it really is hard for women at home not to try to copy these heroines as they deal with life and death problems, and still manage to give loving care to their husbands and kids and keep their kitchens clean to boot Which, some feel, is what womanhood is about.

—ANNE LESLIE



Liberation News Service

'Relax. Enjoy the revolution'

SAN FRANCISCO

REGRETFULLY, I suppose, I've become used by now to advertisements that make their pitch to women as nothing but sex objects and homemakers.

To be sure, I still get indignant about ads that proclaim "We make pantyhose for men (legmen)". Or those that ask, "Who are you dressing for these days?" — which is grammatically jarring as well as male chauvinist. Or an ad that asks, "How far should a woman go for a man? All the way to Xanadu."

But the pitch that disturbs me the most is the one that uses part of the rhetoric of the women's liberation movement to sell products that are essentially dehumanizing and diametrically opposed to what Women's Lib is seeking.

TAKE, FOR example, the separate double page ads in which film critic Judith Crist and gossip columnist Suzy Knickerbocker "talk about women's new freedom." They contain such gems as Suzy answering the question, "Do social classes still exist in this country?" with "Of course, but the great levelers are money and flair."

At the end of the two seemingly "objective" interviews is a postscript suggesting that a logical corollary to these women's remarks is that "today's new free woman" must use Pristine Vaginal Deodorant to keep free.

Along the same lines, women are urged to "Relax. And enjoy the revolution." Said revolutionary idea in this case is a set of flavored douches that are more than "plain, good feminine hygiene."

Other "revolutions" proclaimed by manufacturers include Max Factor UltraLucent Whipped Creme Make-up and Sears Damask Draperies that you can wash. "You've changed a lot lately," the ad claims, "So has Sears."

CO-OPTATION OF movement rhetoric is certainly not confined to the women's movement or to products for women, which is the most highly advertised market.

The new checks with peace symbols on them are a prime example of how the ruling class can co-opt symbols in an attempt to obscure the meaning of the movement they represent.

Manufacturers are certainly making this attempt now in regard to the women's movement. It's just one more obstacle with which Women's Lib must deal.

—JUDY BASTON

We are not people, we are things

LOS ANGELES

I SAW an obscene commercial on television the other night. It was worse than insulting, it was flat-out obscene.

Not just because it was for a cigarette, but because it informed us in sonorous tones usually reserved for geometric axioms or at least one of the Ten Commandments that, "Cigarettes are like women: The best ones are thin and rich"!

The choice Anglo-Saxon and Yiddish oaths that exploded from my corner and from the couch where my husband reclined need not be spelled out here, but be assured they were entirely apropos.

I don't qualify on either count, see, and none of the "best" women I know qualify on both at the same time.

I deem that commercial to be a crime against humanity. But it's only one of many propaganda pieces pounded at women daily on the tube. Examples: One child to another, "What's your mother . . . a doctor or something?" Reply: "Nah . . . she's just a mother." Or, "You've come a long way, baby" (women's liberation has won the ultimate victory . . . we have our own personal cigarette). And how about the double insult in the ad showing several models (no blacks) done up to look like praying mantises, stalking around junk piles on a beach to the beat of tom-toms . . . selling the new "Soul Suit" by Cole of California.

These are perhaps no worse than those commercials depicting women as being totally involved with detergents, deodorants, cosmetics, and food preparations, ("How do you handle a hungry man?").

The Mad ave. hacks are hawking rotten goods — the image we are supposed to accept of ourselves . . . the All-American Wonder Woman whose greatest accomplishment and delight is catering to the wants of her man and her kids who expresses her individual creativity in such marvelous ways . . . at the stove.

BUT IN the commercials for men's products the portrayal of women is different. We are supposed to be slick, silken, and slinky, either eyeing That Man hungrily or draped about his neck like a feather boa.

By now we should have learned our lessons well. We are not people, we are **things** — machines performing services and unfortunately needing servicing on occasion. (Nothing's perfect).

But don't despair, sisters, we have much to look forward to, if you'll just trust the mass media. In the golden years ahead we shall become carping mothers-in-law, meddling grandmothers, competitive cake-bakers, and have serious discussions with our best friends who will tell us kindly that, when-you-get-to-be-your-age-Helen-you-should-really-take-a-laxative. Which may not be a bad idea after all. If we swallow what we're being fed we'll need something to get rid of it.

—A.L.

If Los Angeles can, why not everyone?

TO AVOID RAIN
inside raincoat

MAN AT RALLY HELD PEOPLE'S WORLD
The War Comes Home, proclaimed headline

SMALL GIRL
She was among the

As seen by the Seattle Post Intelligencer

(Continued from Page 1)

there are substantive changes in either the men or policies at work in the White House. Because there is a possibility in this of defeating reaction and putting the country on a different path, it is a moment of great opportunity for all of us.

The monopoly controlled mass media of this country cannot and will not respond to the current situation in the manner required. They report the people's activities in great detail but they leave out what they wish and distort what they cannot avoid reporting.

PEOPLE SENSE THIS. On the picketlines and at demonstrations people are reading everything they can get their hands on and they are turning in increasing numbers to the left press. We have only to take advantage of the situation. Although all the reports are not in from last weekend, we do know that sales went well in San Francisco. But nothing could top the sensational performance turned in by Los Angeles (It must be the sunshine). At the big anti-war rally Saturday, they sold 700 papers. Nothing could top that — except hitting the target of 1,000 they are aiming for at the big GI peace actions this weekend.

That's what's known as seizing the time. Other areas can do it. They have only to think real hard about the political meaning of this moment and what it could mean for the People's World. Do it.

Phantoms at the airport; military puts spies to work

(Continued from page 1)

which was swarming with military intelligence agents — and very few enlisted men.

Airports and bus stations are places where GIs and the people from the peace movement get together. Literature and anti-war GI papers are distributed along with "raps" against the war.

Last week it was damn hard to find enlisted men in the S.F. airport. There were lots of "lifers" (career men) with gold stripes and Vietnam duty patches, but few privates.

Three GIs, one wearing full jungle utilities — the combat uniform of Vietnam troops — were finally spotted. They were engaged in animated conversation with a group from the University of California Medical Center who were passing out letters to be sent to Nixon protesting the Cambodian invasion.

One of the three was signing a letter.

SHOOTINGS, JAILINGS

Four men were circling the little group of GIs and white coated medical workers. Like most undercover cops, they were as obvious as if they had "pig" emblazoned on their identical suits.

The military reaction to the GI activity goes beyond harassment at the airports.

In Oceanside, California, site of Camp Pendleton, West Coast boot camp for the Marine Corps, there have been threats, jailings and now shootings of members of the Movement for a Democratic Military, a GI organization.

Actress Jane Fonda has been storming bases all over the country with anti-war leaflets and recently managed to get herself banned permanently from Ft. Hood, Texas.

'GET OUT'

At Ft. Hood, actress Fonda passed out leaflets with three demands:

- Get out of South Vietnam.
- Free Bobby Seale, imprisoned Black Panther party leader.
- Avenge the "Kent State Five" — this refers to charges that a fifth student died of wounds received when Guardsmen shot down and killed four students at the Ohio college.

The three demands will be echoed at the West Coast demonstrations where organizers hope to turn them into protests and teach-ins on Cambodia.

At Oceanside, civilians will go on the base at 10 a.m. to talk about the war. The Pendleton authorities have said they will only open the main gate on Saturday.

After the morning's on-base activities, protesters will assemble in Recreation Park, Mission and San Diego sts., in Oceanside (take the Mission ave. turn-off from the freeway) at 1 p.m.

From the park, they will march to Beach Stadium, near Oceanside pier at the end of 3rd st., for a 3 p.m. rally.

Speaking at the rally will be Tom Hayden of the Conspiracy 8, Oscar Ramirez, Los Siete de la Raza, former Green Beret Don Duncan, a GI speaker from MDM, Bob Lawson of Risin Up Angry, from Chicago, and Robert Ryan, Southern California Black Panther party.

At Ft. Ord, civilians (and the organizers say women have a better chance of getting on base than men) will go on base starting at 9:30 a.m. to talk to GIs.

At 1:30, demonstrators will gather in El Elestro Park in Monterey to march to Monterey Peninsula College for a 4 p.m. rally.

Speaking at the rally will be Angela Davis, acting professor of philosophy at UCLA, Michael Maguire, former San Quentin inmate, a Black Panther party spokesman, a black Marine from Camp Pendleton, and Ft. Ord GIs.

At Ft. Lewis in the Seattle-Tacoma area, the Independent Servicemen's Movement is holding a demonstration-picnic at American Lake which is in walking distance of the base.

Hard hat brownshirts?

Special to The People's World

NEW YORK—Did the attacks last week by a group of construction workers on peace marchers have all the earmarks of a classic bought-and-paid-for provocation?

Many in the anti-war movement here are suggesting they did, are citing the following as evidence:

- On the Thursday before the attack, warnings were phoned into the police department and a congressman's office telling about what was planned. The person who called the police identified himself as a construction worker upset over what he had learned. He said workers had been offered a bonus and time off if they would act to "break some heads" at the peace march.
- A second call was made by a construction worker to an assistant of Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein (D-N.Y.). Harriet Eisman, the congressman's special assistant, said the caller told her, "the workers were briefed by the shop stewards at the jobs to go and knock the heads of the kids who were protesting the Nixon-Kent thing."
- During the May 8 attack, observers on the scene said police stood by and did little or nothing to prevent the attack from starting or stopping it after it had begun. During the pro-war action on that day and the following Monday, policemen were seen shaking hands and congratulating the attackers.
- Edward Shufro who watched the attack from his 32nd floor office at 63 Wall st. said he saw two men in gray suits and gray hats directing the attack. Shufro, of the firm of Shufro, Rose & Ehrman watched the action through binoculars. He said:

"These guys were directing the construction workers with hand motions. It was obvious that the incident was inspired and directed."

All the allegations made about the apparent staging of the attack were reported in the New York Times.

Big Teamster uproar

(Continued from Page One)

rank and file for several tense minutes before he was rescued by other Teamster officials.

The revolt exploded this week as the details of the supplemental agreements became known and rank-and-filers called them a sellout.

Although the national freight contract covers all locals, standards for each area are negotiated separately.

However, the national contract and the supplemental agreements are on the same ballot.

Union members cannot vote yes on the contract and no on the supplementals.

With only one-third of the votes of the membership required for ratification, it seems sure that the contract with the objectionable supplemental agreements will go through.

Further insurance of passage of the contract is that any union member working for a California Trucking Assn. can vote on the national agreement.

This means that clerks, garagemen, mechanics will vote and, for many, the $1.10 an hour raise is a substantial increase while the supplemental agreements (affecting only the drivers) are to them unimportant.

In Los Angeles, rank and filers were willing to accept the $1.10 instead of the $1.65 they wanted if they got paid sick leave.

The employers have refused the demand and fired 10,000 of them. The supplemental agreement for L.A. does not include sick leave or an amnesty provision.

Striking rank and filers in Los Angeles picketed their local headquarters and dispatched others to northern California to cement solidarity with dissatisfied teamsters in the Bay Area.

Because of injunctions against picketing granted against both L.A. and Bay Area locals, picketing was conducted by Teamsters who identified themselves as members of Local 104 of Phoenix, Arizona or locals in places like Newark, New Jersey.

But by Wednesday, freight terminals were shut down from Santa Rosa to San Jose.

Anger here was largely directed towards the IBT Joint Council which negotiated the supplementals.

One working condition given up was the seniority provision. Previously a man had to work 13 days out of 30 to make seniority at a company. Under the proposed supplemental agreement, that is changed to 30 out of 90 days making it almost impossible, drivers say, to establish seniority because of the constant layoffs.

Teamsters here report companies trying to give the impression of large freight movement loading one trailer and sending it down with two empty ones to Los Angeles.

Trucks are organized into convoys, usually in the Delano area, then escorted into L.A. by police.

Even so, Teamsters here report seeing "bullet holes in trailers coming up from the south."

—STEPHANIE ALLAN

Anti-war varsity

Special to The People's World

BERKELEY — The University of California football team may not be up to snuff this winter — due to lack of practice, but nobody seems to care so long as the war is on in Indochina.

It's never happened before here, and probably nowhere else, but approximately 150 past and present UC athletes, coaches and others involved in the school's athletic department met Monday to discuss the crisis in the country.

The meeting lasted some time during which black football lineman John Sanford told the gathering "morality is more important than materialism."

The meeting opened with a talk by Sanford and crew captain Mike Fletcher. It was attended by team representatives from football, wrestling, crew, tennis, water polo, swimming, track, basketball and baseball.

As a result of the meeting, the varsity football team voted overwhelmingly not to participate in the remainder of spring practice, the wrestling team decided to boycott the AAU championship meet and all the other teams issued protests against U.S. actions in Indochina.

Sanford, speaking for the football varsity, said the team had decided time spent away from the practice field should be devoted to anti-war activity.